JUNE 25, 2018

TIME

THE RISKIEST SHOW ON EARTH

TRUMP'S IMPULSE DIPLOMACY

by BRIAN BENNETT

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James Gaither, 48, with sons Elijah, 5, and Jasir, 8, in Gwynn Oak, Md.

Photograph by Ruddy Roye for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Kevin Lim—The Straits Times/ Getty Images*

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

THE WAR ON MUELLER Tim O'Brien's June 18 cover illustration, accompanying Molly Ball and Tessa Berenson's feature on President Trump's attempt to challenge special counsel Robert Mueller's Russia probe, got an enthusiastic response from Kathie Schlemm of Franklin, Wis., who called it the "best TIME cover ever." And Randall Schumann of Madison, Wis., wrote that Americans might take inspiration from it, remembering on Election Day that "colonial Americans 'fired' a King in 1776." But Larry R. Schultz of Bellevue, Wash., took issue with how the cover story framed the matter. The investigation, he wrote, "is discrediting itself by spending millions of my tax dollars and coming up with nothing really significant."

> ***'Trump should be wearing the imperial crown of the czars of Russia.'***
>
> SUE KAYTON, Menlo Park, Calif.

NEXT GENERATION LEADERS Sam Lansky's May 28 profile of pop artist Ariana Grande—part of TIME's series on rising stars who are changing the world—continues to draw responses from readers. Cynthia Minor of Summerville, S.C., found inspiration in how Grande "used her own grief to comfort others" after the 2017 terrorist attack at her concert in Manchester, England. "This article made me cry on the train," tweeted @melaniedesmith. But Sid Koslow of Annandale, Va., was disappointed that the Next Generation Leaders list didn't include people from "automation, biotechnology, AI and communications," who are reshaping the world in a different way.

> ***'this is so good, thoughtful & respectful, @samlansky.'***
>
> KEVIN MCHALE, *Glee* actor, on Twitter

Back in TIME

Fatherhood
June 28, 1993

This week's piece on African-American fathers and sons *(page 34)* reflects on the job of a father in a world in which stereotypes can sometimes get in the way of family relationships. A 1993 TIME cover story traced the origins of some of those ideas about what a dad looks like and how the role was changing as "fathers themselves wrestle with memories of their own fathers, vowing to do it differently." Read it at **time.com/vault**

JOIN US On June 6, TIME staff writer Alexandra Sifferlin interviewed Dr. Raj Panjabi, the CEO of Last Mile Health and a 2016 TIME 100 honoree, at the WeWork Security Building in Miami. The event was the first in the TIME 100 x WeWork Speaker Series, which features conversations with TIME 100 alumni at WeWork locations across the U.S. Find out more about upcoming events on **time.com**

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In "King Me" (June 18), we incorrectly stated Democrats controlled the Senate in 1999 when the chamber acquitted President Bill Clinton after he was impeached in the House. Republicans had the majority at the time. In "The Future of Fitness" (June 11), we misstated the year in which LEKfit started streaming workouts. It was 2017.

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JOHN PARRA FOR TIME—GETTY IMAGES

For the Record

‘PEOPLE EXPECT US TO BE LIKE TEFLON, BUT WE’RE JUST MEN.’

CLINTON PORTIS,
former NFL running back, opening up about dealing with the pressures of fame as part of the players’ union mental-health-awareness campaign

172

Number of American children killed by the flu during the 2017–18 flu season, more than in any other non-pandemic year on record, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

‘There is no evidence to suggest that current policies, procedures and approaches have resulted in a significant reduction in sexual harassment.’

THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES, ENGINEERING AND MEDICINE,
in its first report addressing how universities handle sexual harassment

‘Rescuing lives is a duty; transforming Italy into an enormous refugee camp is not.’

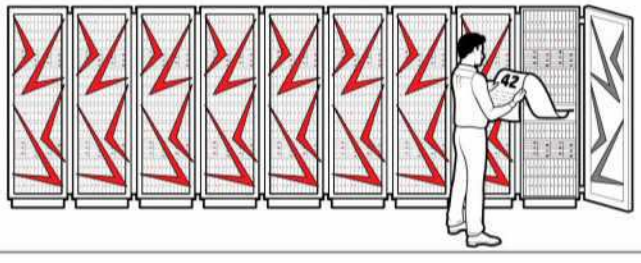
MATTEO SALVINI,
Italy’s Interior Minister, defending his controversial decision to turn away a ship carrying more than 600 migrants; Spain offered to accept the ship

‘WELL, I WAS TEMPTED TO SAY, “IT’S TAKEN YOU LONG ENOUGH,” BUT THAT WAS CERTAINLY TOO RUDE.’

GLENDA JACKSON,
actor, after winning a Tony Award on June 10; she had been nominated four times before scoring for her role in Edward Albee’s *Three Tall Women*

200 quadrillion

Number of calculations per second performed by the world’s most powerful supercomputer, Summit, which was unveiled on June 8 at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee



1983

Year that U.S. Air Force Captain William Howard Hughes Jr. disappeared; on June 6, authorities arrested him after discovering he had been living in California under a false identity

Baobabs
Research suggests climate change is killing ancient trees

Bao
A Pixar short about a dumpling baby premieres June 15

‘My dad … was diagnosed with Alzheimer’s, and he doesn’t remember a lot of stuff, but you bet your ass he’s going to remember this one.’

T.J. OSHIE,
Washington Capitals forward, when a reporter asked what his father would think of the NHL team’s first Stanley Cup win

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SOURCES: BLEACHER REPORT; CBC; DISNEY; NEW YORK TIMES

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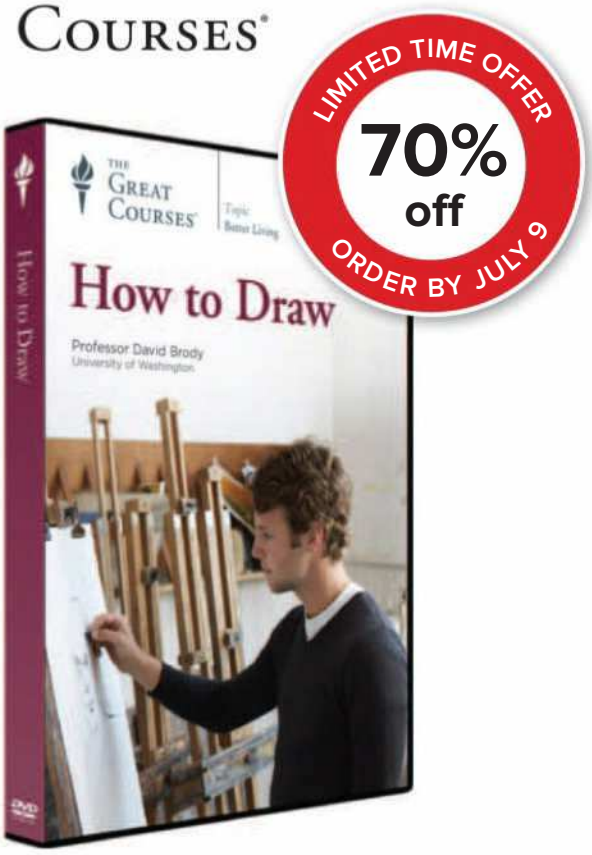

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17. Linear Perspective: The Gridded Room
18. Linear Perspective: Ellipses and Pattern
19. Linear Perspective: Advanced Topics
20. Value: How Artists Use Value
21. Value: Drawing Materials for Value
22. Value: Black and White and a Value Scale
23. Value: Eight Complex Drawing Projects
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25. Value: Oblique Light and Cast Shadow
26. Texture: Mark Making and Optical Value
27. Texture: How Artists Use Texture
28. Color: Color Theory and Color and Light
29. Color: How Artists Use Color
30. Color: Color Drawing Projects
31. The Figure: A Canon of Proportions
32. The Figure: The Head, Hands, and Feet
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34. The Figure: Drawing Projects
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The Brief

COMING APART A Honduran mother and child at the U.S.-Mexico border fence near Penitas, Texas, on Feb. 22

INSIDE

CONTINUING VIOLENCE IN NICARAGUA LEAVES THE NATION AT A DANGEROUS TIPPING POINT

A SUPREME COURT RULING RAISES QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MEANING OF VOTING RIGHTS

CHEF RENÉ REDZEPI REMEMBERS ANTHONY BOURDAIN FOR HIS FOOD AND HIS FRIENDSHIP

IMMIGRATION

A parent's nightmare at the U.S. border

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

EARLIER THIS YEAR, A YOUNG HONDURAN woman named Mirian gathered her 18-month-old son into her arms and walked across the bridge between Matamoros, Mexico, and Brownsville, Texas, where she presented herself to U.S. border agents to ask for asylum. Mirian and her son spent the night in a detention facility. The next day, officials told her to put her son into a car seat in the back of a government vehicle. Her hands shook as she buckled him in. The officials wouldn't tell her where they were taking him, she wrote in a personal statement later published by CNN.com—only that she would not be allowed to go with him. As the car pulled away, she could see her baby looking back at her through the window, screaming.

For the next 2½ months, Mirian was detained at an immigration center, unable to speak with or visit her son, according to her lawyer Elissa Steglich. Mirian wondered if her son would forget the sound of her voice. "The separation is very harsh," says Denise Gilman, who heads the Immigration Clinic at the University of Texas School of Law, and who met with Mirian. "It often means not knowing where the other is."

Mirian and her son were eventually reunited, but a version of her parental nightmare has now become U.S. policy. On May 7, the Trump Administration announced a "zero tolerance" agenda on the U.S. border. The policy seems simple: anyone who crosses the border without authorization is now subject to prosecution for a federal misdemeanor, which can result in a sentence of 180 days for a first offense. Because children can't be jailed alongside adults, minors must be separated and kept in juvenile facilities while their moms or dads are incarcerated.

The crackdown on prosecutions has triggered an explosion of family separations. While ICE has not released official numbers, Reuters reports that as many as 1,800 families have been separated since late 2016. Regional public defenders report that some 400 children were separated from their families during a two-week stretch in May and June in McAllen, Texas, alone. "This is definitely new," says Diane Eikenberry, an associate director at the National Immigrant Justice Center. "It's something we haven't seen."

THE NEW POLICY has extended not only to those crossing the border illegally. In a number of cases, says Lee Gelernt, deputy director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Immigrants' Rights Project, federal agents appear to have taken children away from their parents even when the parents have followed legal protocol for seeking asylum. Mirian, for example, was never charged with a crime, says Steglich.

The new "zero tolerance" policy also marks a profound break from past Administrations, when parents traveling with children were usually either released wearing tracking devices, detained with their children or admitted to case-management programs in an effort to keep families intact. A Department of Homeland Security spokesperson defended the Trump Administration's hard-line policy on the grounds that the government regularly incarcerates American-born criminals with children. "If you commit a crime, the police will take you to jail—regardless if you have a family or not," the spokesperson said. He declined to address questions about pending litigation involving immigrants who were separated from their children despite not being charged with a crime.

Immigrants' advocates offer wrenching accounts of how, exactly, federal authorities remove children from their moms and dads. On some occasions, advocates told TIME, kids are pulled, sobbing, from their parents' arms. On other occasions, agents have allegedly lied. "They say, 'We're just going to take your kids to have a bath,'" Gilman says. "But then they don't bring them back." The American Academy of Pediatrics recently published a letter noting that taking a child from a parent can do "irreparable harm, disrupting a child's brain architecture and affecting his or her short- and long-term health."

'If people don't want to be separated from their children, they should not bring them with them.'

JEFF SESSIONS, U.S. Attorney General

Reuniting families once parents are released is also a complicated process, fraught with delays. Because it requires that Customs and Border Protection, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Office of Refugee Resettlement, among other federal agencies, communicate with one another, not all families have been reunited, advocates say. In some cases, they say, parents have been deported while their children remain in the U.S.

Whether a policy that results in the mass separation of children and parents violates the Constitution's guarantee of due process remains an open question. In June, a federal judge appointed by George W. Bush refused the Trump Administration's request to dismiss an ACLU lawsuit challenging the policy. The government's conduct, if true, appears "brutal, offensive, and fails to comport with traditional notions of fair play and decency," the judge wrote. He is expected to rule on the case this summer. The Texas Civil Rights Project and other groups have also filed an emergency injunction with the Washington-based Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Gelernt, who argued the ACLU case last month, said the question of whether the policy is legal looms large. But beyond that, he said, there's a question of what's humane. "Why be so mean-spirited?" he said. "So gratuitously cruel?" ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: JOHN MOORE—GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: SESSIONS: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; NICARAGUA: OSWALDO RIVAS—REUTERS

Demonstrators behind a barricade at an antigovernment protest in Managua on May 30

THE BULLETIN

Clinging to power amid violent protests, Nicaragua's President faces a crisis point

AS PROTESTERS CONTINUE TO CALL FOR his ouster, Nicaragua's embattled President Daniel Ortega is digging in his heels. At least 146 people have been killed since April in clashes there. Some worry that the Central American country is heading down the same path as Venezuela, where a dictator refuses to bend as his country is battered by an economic and humanitarian crisis.

A NICARAGUAN SPRING The crisis started on April 18 when pro-government gangs violently crushed a small student-led demonstration against planned reforms to the pension system. The government responded with force, and the protests escalated; dozens were killed over the next few days. Ortega, 72, has since dropped his original plan for pensions, but opponents are now calling for his resignation, as well as for democratic reforms and justice for victims of the crackdown.

CONFRONTATION Opposition figures say Ortega—who had previously governed from 1979 to 1990 after helping topple Nicaragua's last dictator, Anastasio Somoza—has become increasingly corrupt and authoritarian since he was re-elected in 2006. In January 2017, his wife Rosario Murillo, a mystic poet, became Vice President. Many suspect Ortega is preparing her to be his successor. For his part, Ortega has blamed "opposition political groups with specific political agendas" for the violence and even suggested that protesters had killed one another to undermine him.

PROOF OF STRIFE With roads blocked, universities occupied and many businesses open only a few hours a day, Nicaragua has ground to a halt. Economists say the crisis has cost the extremely poor country upwards of $600 million. Some are calling on the U.N. to step up its response, while others have suggested a national strike. But talks between the two sides have broken down, leaving Ortega with a choice: risk his position by holding early elections—which the Catholic Church and business leaders have called for—or refuse, and confirm his opponents' worst fears. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Antarctic ice loss tripled in past decade

Antarctica is losing ice at a staggering rate, **dumping about 2 billion tons of ice into the ocean every year,** scientists found in a study published in the journal *Nature* on June 13. And it's getting worse: of the nearly 3 trillion tons of ice loss since 1992, 40% occurred over the past five years.

Ex–Senate aide charged in leak case

James Wolfe, a former Senate Intelligence Committee staffer, was arrested June 7 in an investigation into classified-information leaks. He was **charged with three felony counts of lying to the FBI** about his contacts with journalists. Prosecutors in the case also secretly seized years' worth of phone and email records from one of the journalists.

North America wins World Cup bid

The U.S., Mexico and Canada will jointly host the 2026 soccer World Cup, FIFA announced on the eve of 2018's tournament. The joint bid's success came in the first vote since the allegations of corruption that surrounded Russia's and Qatar's being awarded the 2018 and 2022 World Cups.

NEWS TICKER

Salmonella outbreak sickens dozens

At least 60 people have fallen ill and dozens have been hospitalized with salmonella linked to **precut melon sold in U.S. grocery stores.** The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention traced the outbreak to a facility in Indiana, and the company issued a recall notice for eight states.

A Brexit-Russia link revealed

Arron Banks, a millionaire who bankrolled a campaign for the U.K. to leave the E.U., **held previously undisclosed meetings with Russia's ambassador to the U.K.** before the vote, according to emails seen by British newspapers. Banks also admitted to giving a phone number for the Trump team to the Russian government.

Trump critic loses in GOP primary

South Carolina Representative Mark Sanford, who has been critical of President Trump, lost his House race on June 12 to a pro-Trump challenger, state representative Katie Arrington, **after Trump urged voters to punish him.** Sanford is the second sitting House Republican to lose a congressional primary this year.

GOOD QUESTION

What does the Supreme Court's Ohio decision mean for voting rights?

WHEN THE U.S. SUPREME COURT UPHELD Ohio's method of cleaning up its voter rolls in a 5-4 decision on June 11, the ruling focused in large part on technical interpretations of federal voting law—but it also represented a broader debate about partisan visions of democracy.

The case centered on Larry Harmon, a software engineer who found he'd been taken off the voter-registration list when he showed up to cast a ballot in 2015. In Ohio, his home state, election officials can send residency-confirmation notices to anyone who skips one federal election cycle. If a voter fails to respond and doesn't vote in the next four years, that person is purged from the rolls. Ohio sent Harmon such a notice, but he said he never got it. So, unable to vote, he went to court.

All states have systems for clearing registration lists of people who move away. The question here was whether failing to vote could trigger this process. Justice Samuel Alito wrote in his majority opinion that, even if Harmon never got the message, Ohio's attempt to contact voters meant the state didn't violate the National Voter Registration Act.

The case exposed a deep divide in how Americans interpret the idea of safeguarding the vote. Conservatives tend to argue that the vote needs to be protected from fraud, and call for more intensive scrutiny of voter rolls. (Many studies, including a 2014 report by the nonpartisan Government Accountability Office, have found no evidence of widespread voter fraud in the U.S.) Meanwhile, liberals say the ability to vote is what needs protecting—and that obstacles to doing so are meant to disenfranchise their constituencies, as tactics that make it harder to register disproportionately hurt poor and minority voters.

Harmon's lawyers noted that 7,500 eligible Ohioans would have been unable to vote in the 2016 presidential election without an earlier decision in his favor. Ohio's secretary of state said on June 12 that voters won't be purged from the rolls before November's midterms, but now that the Supreme Court overturned the previous ruling, voting-rights advocates fear the decision's impact could spread beyond Ohio in future elections.

At least six other states have similar laws—although Ohio's process moves quickest—and others are watching the case. "There's a real risk that other secretaries of state will see this as an excuse to kick people off the voting rolls," says Daniel Tokaji, a co-counsel on the lawsuit for Harmon and a voting-rights expert at Ohio State University.

Some advocates said the ruling presents a good opportunity to push for Election Day registration, which could provide a "fail-safe" if voters are accidentally purged. But until then, "some people are going to fall through the cracks," says Lonna Atkeson, an expert on voting rights and election law at the University of New Mexico. "Those are going to be disproportionately Democratic voters."

—ABIGAIL ABRAMS

SURVIVAL

Lost in the wilderness

A South Korean hiker who was rescued on June 7 after six days lost in the Australian bush said she survived by drinking from a waterfall. Here, other unlikely survival stories. —*Ciara Nugent*

STUCK IN THE MUD
An 11-year-old girl with Asperger's syndrome survived four days in Florida's alligator-infested swamps in 2010 after wandering away from her home to see nature. She ate plants and slept inside a hollow log.

INTO THE WOODS
In 2016, a 3-year-old boy wandered into a Siberian forest populated by wolves and bears and was lost for three days. The chocolate he was carrying in his pocket sustained him until he was found by his uncle.

RESCUE DOGS
A Canadian dog walker was stranded in the British Columbia backcountry in 2017 after she fell, hurt herself and lost her phone. But her three dogs helped keep her warm during the three-day ordeal.

DIED
British actor **Eunice Gayson,** who was the first Bond girl, on June 8 at 90.
› **Gena Turgel,** a Holocaust survivor known for comforting Anne Frank, on June 7 at 95.

CELEBRATED
The **94th birthday of George H.W. Bush**—the first former U.S. President to hit that age—on June 12.

WON
The French Open women's and men's singles titles, by **Simona Halep and Rafael Nadal,** respectively.

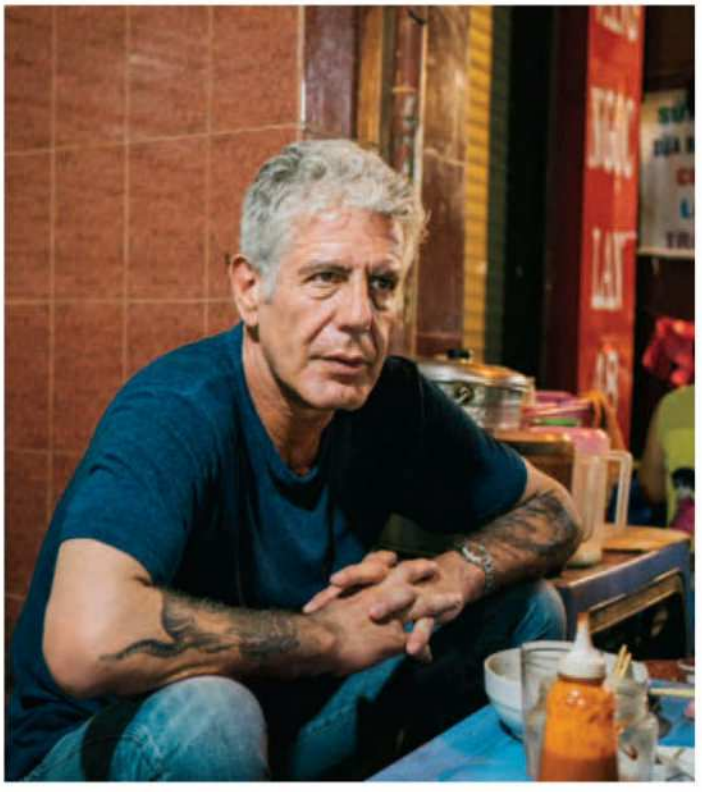
APPOINTED
Eleven female lawmakers, to Spain's 17-member Cabinet, the most in the nation's history. Their June 7 swearing-in gave Spain the most proportionally female Cabinet in Europe.

CHARGED
Former Trump campaign chair **Paul Manafort and his aide Konstantin Kilimnik,** with witness tampering, by special counsel Robert Mueller. The June 8 indictment is the case's first to involve an American and a Russian together.

APPROVED
AT&T's $85.4 billion purchase of Time Warner, on June 12. A judge ruled that the federal government had failed to prove the deal violates antitrust law.

RESOLVED
A 27-year dispute over use of the word Macedonia, by Greece and the nation to be known as the **Republic of North Macedonia.**

HELICOPTER: GETTY IMAGES; BOURDAIN: WILLIAM MEBANE; DUNCAN: RAY FISHER—THE LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES



Bourdain, pictured in Hanoi, in 2016

DIED

Anthony Bourdain
Culinary ambassador

By René Redzepi

NO ONE IN OUR INDUSTRY WAS BIGGER THAN ANTHONY Bourdain, who died on June 8 at 61. There's Auguste Escoffier and then there's Tony. Actually, he was more like our Elvis Presley. Famous, but also personal. Everyone felt like they knew him.

The first time I met him was in Tokyo in 2011. We met for dinner at a kaiseki restaurant, and although the crew for his TV show *No Reservations* was there, it was otherwise just the two of us. We immediately hit it off and the conversation just flowed. For three or four hours we talked about food, about Japan—just the kind of easy conversation that makes you feel good.

We met up again a few days later in Ishikawa, where he and his crew were shooting at Cook It Raw, a gathering where a group of chefs is introduced to the local food culture and then prepares a meal. On the last day, we were all in the kitchen, working really hard to prep our dishes for dinner. Tony stepped in and made us lunch. It was on the porch, and he grilled some meat. He was like the barbecuing dad, standing there with a beer in his hand. That was a stand-up move. That was a real chef thing to do.

I've never seen anything like the response to his death. Everyone in the industry felt it. We were all in awe of him. He was like the Milky Way, and we're all just small specks.

Redzepi is a chef who runs the two-Michelin-starred restaurant Noma

DIED

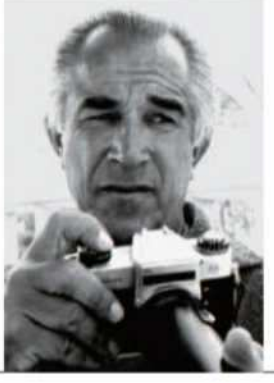
David Douglas Duncan
Camera man

By John Loengard

DAVID DOUGLAS DUNCAN, the LIFE photographer who died on June 7 at 102, was in Tokyo in 1950 when the Korean War began. He had been a Marine officer during World War II, so his pictures of war had the breathtaking clarity and intimacy of a lover. He was not a lover of war but of the Marine Corps. He knew what a Marine was doing on the front line, what he was thinking and why—and he showed it. His pictures were collected in the best-selling book *This Is War!* The photos have no captions. None are needed.

It wasn't just war. He was alone with Richard Nixon the night Nixon was writing his acceptance speech for the 1968 Republican presidential nomination. He made some of the best pictures of Nixon I've ever seen—unguarded and understandable. Our perception of a subject often depends on a photographer recording a telling gesture. He did that with Nixon. DDD brought you into the room and, as he did in all his pictures, brought you along on his adventures.

Loengard is a photographer and was a picture editor for LIFE magazine



Writer **David Sedaris** is ready to face middle age. If only he could find the perfect outfit

By Eliana Dockterman

DAVID SEDARIS IS ON THE HUNT FOR A SPECIFIC type of shirt. "I'm old now and can't wear anything too thin," he explains to a store clerk. "It accentuates my man-breasts."

Sedaris has led me to 45R, a Japanese boutique he first shopped at in Tokyo before discovering a stateside outpost here on Mercer Street in New York City. The front of the store smells like soothing incense, but toward the back there's a statue of a naked child clutching a piece of fruit in one hand while throwing the other hand victoriously into the air. It's just the kind of playfully bizarre decoration that Sedaris loves.

"Is your father still alive?" Sedaris asks the young clerk. Yes, the clerk says. He just turned 58.

"So he has breasts, doesn't he?" asks the writer. The clerk nods and laughs.

When Sedaris, 61, shares intimate details of his life, he forges a bond with millions of readers and audience members, including now this clerk who busies himself finding a flattering shirt. In his early essay collections, Sedaris wrote about the homophobic speech therapy he was forced to endure as a child, his experimentation with drugs and his stint working as a Santaland elf at Macy's. He recorded his unusual obsessions with taxidermied owls and foreign swear words. He always carries a notebook with him, and scribbles down observations that he later crafts into humorous stories. (He even tests out the notebook in various shirt pockets during our shopping trip to make sure it will fit.)

Sedaris has mined his past for eight memoirs' worth of material, including a collection of old diary entries published last year under the title *Theft by Finding.* But in his newest essay collection, *Calypso,* out now, he looks to the present and the future. "Though there's an industry built on telling you otherwise, there are few real joys to middle age," the book begins. He has found some perks: he spent his 20s broke but now lives in the English countryside with his boyfriend Hugh, in a house with a guest room, the kind Sedaris fantasized about as a younger man.

The couple also recently purchased a cottage by the seaside in North Carolina and named it the Sea Section. Much of *Calypso* takes place in this new beach home. There, he and his siblings clash with their father over politics, and at one point Sedaris feeds a benign tumor he had removed from his body to a sea turtle—just because. But there are many downsides to growing old. Sedaris' body is slowly deteriorating, which perhaps has led to his fanatical obsession with his Fitbit.

When Sedaris and I meet in the late morning, he has already logged almost 9,000 of the recommended 10,000 steps for the day. "If I were a lazy person, I would just walk another 1,000 steps and say I'm done," he says. "But I'm not a lazy person." His record is 91,000 steps in one day. At home in England, he meets his goals by wandering through his neighborhood for hours at a time, picking up litter on the side of the road as he goes. Sedaris is the first to admit that he easily becomes consumed by routines. As a student in Chicago, he used to arrive at the same IHOP and sit in the same booth to drink the same cup of coffee at the exact same time every day. Now he has channeled his self-described obsessive-compulsive disorder into a green, if dangerous, project: as we walk alongside busy Houston Street, Sedaris spots a trash bag filled with Styrofoam tumbling into the road. He runs into oncoming traffic to grab it.

Sedaris doesn't exaggerate his peculiarities on paper to earn a few laughs. In person, he's the same neurotic and charming guy that his faithful readers know so well. And yet in *Calypso,* he occasionally drops his trademark humor in favor of meditations on regret and mortality.

Sedaris has previously written about his mother in reverent tones: her six children vied for her attention, and she held court at the dinner table every night. She even coached a young Sedaris on how to tweak his anecdotes to make them funnier. But in the considered and brutally honest *Calypso* essay "Why Aren't You Laughing?," Sedaris admits that he regrets that he never confronted his mother about her alcoholism.

In an essay titled "The Spirit World," Sedaris remembers his last interaction with his sister Tiffany before she died by suicide. The two had a difficult relationship and had not spoken for four years when she appeared unannounced at one of his readings in Boston. She called to him from the stage door to the theater. Sedaris ignored her, turned to a nearby security guard and asked him to shut the door. He never saw her again.

"I feel the audience giving me the appropriate reaction when I talk about shutting the door in her face," says Sedaris of reading that essay aloud on his book tour. "They didn't expect that, and then they have to recalibrate their feeling toward me. When I read that the first time, I thought, Do I really want to admit this? But it seemed false not to. If you try to make yourself look better than you are, that's bad. Especially if you're making other people look bad, you have to be up-front about how bad you are."

SEDARIS QUICK QUESTIONS

Have you ever tricked your Fitbit?
Sometimes my friend Dawn will wake up before me, take my Fitbit and get in my steps. I go so far over the recommended amount most days that I think it's O.K.

Why do you hate having your picture taken?
So many photographers went to the Annie Leibovitz school of photography and think if you're not being humiliated physically, then you're not revealing your true self. I've been asked to stuff things in my mouth and get into a swimming pool with my clothes on.

DINA LITOVSKY FOR TIME

Sedaris says he doesn't regret anything he's ever written. But he does dislike his early work. Back then, he didn't have the luxury of reading stories aloud in front of an audience dozens of times and then tweaking the language before publication. "Everything in my first four or five books I would completely rewrite," he says. "I sign those books sometimes, and I think, Whatever is in here cannot be good."

SEDARIS' PERFORMANCES are essential to his craft. During his years at the Art Institute of Chicago, he reveled in the laughs he would get from his fellow students during workshops. These days, he reads essays aloud on tour, marks down the audience's reactions to certain sentences, returns to his hotel room to revise the story and then adjusts the delivery the next night. He read each of the essays in *Calypso* onstage at least 50 times before the book was published. He loves performing for an audience and even schedules tours when he doesn't have a new book to promote.

'If you're making other people look bad, you have to be up-front about how bad you are.'

DAVID SEDARIS

He also taps his audiences for material, chatting with every reader who stands in the book-signing line. A week before we spoke, a woman in Calgary, Alberta, claimed that her boyfriend was planning to get a tattoo of a corn dog on his face, which might make for a good anecdote in an essay if Sedaris could confirm it was true. A doctor he met at a reading in El Paso, Texas, volunteered to remove that benign tumor he later fed to a turtle. Sedaris happily took her up on the offer, and in the wee hours of the morning he drove with her to a clinic for the surgery. He never goes to Apple's Genius Bar anymore; he simply asks from the stage whether any attendees can fix a MacBook and offers them a chance to skip the line in exchange for tech support.

That's no small offer. The longest Sedaris book signing lasted over 10 hours. As we stroll through Manhattan, he shows off the Band-Aids covering his arms. He was signing books for so long the night before that his elbows began to bleed through his shirt. "Maybe that's what I need," he says. "A fatty shirt that also has elbow pads." He looks at me. "Do you think they carry that?" □

SPORTS

Triple Crown history at Belmont, once again

AS THE CHISELED COLT WITH THE pleasing white blaze approached the last furlong of the June 9 Belmont Stakes with his wire-to-wire lead intact, trainer Bob Baffert finally let his arms fly. The New York crowd roared as Justify clinched horse racing's 13th Triple Crown, although not, it's fair to say, quite as loudly as in 2015, when another Baffert-trained horse, American Pharoah, ended a maddening 37-year Triple Crown drought by winning the Kentucky Derby, Preakness and Belmont. On that day, nearly four decades of pent-up frustration poured out of the crowd.

At the track, it's nice to be spoiled by so much winning for a change.

Few saw Justify coming. The chestnut phenom is the first horse since 1882 to win the Kentucky Derby without racing as a 2-year-old, defying the so-called Curse of Apollo. There was a whiff of controversy after the Belmont, when a rival owner questioned whether Baffert instructed his other horse in the field to block Justify's opponents. The win, however, was ruled clean, and it's clear that Justify has earned his place among the all-time greats.

Since Justify began his magical run, Baffert has often been asked to rate him against American Pharoah. He won't take the bait. "I don't really have to compare them, because if they make this wall," he says, looking at pictures of other Triple Crown winners hanging in a Belmont Park theater, "that's all you need to say."

—SEAN GREGORY

Jockey Mike Smith, far right, rides Justify to the 13th Triple Crown in history at the Belmont Stakes on June 9

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARY ALTAFFER—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

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Paul Fredrick

The View

SOCIETY

THINGS ARE NEVER WHAT THEY SEEM

By Belinda Luscombe

"Sometimes I wonder how all those who do not write, compose or paint can manage to escape the madness, the melancholia, the panic fear which is inherent to the human condition," wrote Graham Greene in the autobiography *Ways of Escape*, which chef and TV host Anthony Bourdain kept on his nightstand.

INSIDE

THE OTHER SPECTACLE AT THE WORLD CUP: CORRUPTION

THE END OF NET NEUTRALITY COULD EVENTUALLY BITE US ALL

WHAT AMERICA MUST DO TO FIX ITS TRUST CRISIS

ILLUSTRATION BY JON STICH FOR TIME

Bourdain's June 8 suicide, coupled with that of fashion designer Kate Spade, was a one-two punch to our belief that there are some people who are living the perfect life. That each of them chose to end an existence that, to outsiders, seemed idyllic and enviable is a mystery to most of us—especially because these were not teenagers or lost 20-somethings, but two people who might reasonably be expected to have reached some sort of self-knowledge, or to have made peace with their demons. So many spectators of Bourdain's and Spade's lives saw in them reflections of the lives they would have liked to have lived.

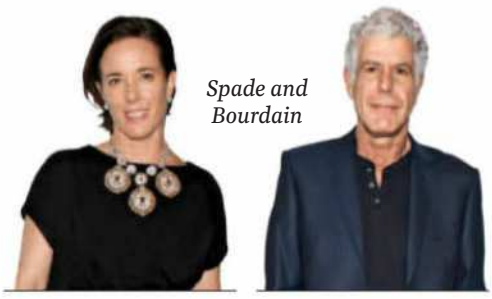
Spade created what many women would consider the ideal situation. Her world was filled with creativity, beauty, family and meaningful work. Having brought into being a fashion line alongside her husband, she sold it and was able to take years off to raise her daughter. She had a successful, artistic, family-centric business that gave her time to be a parent and that brought joy to many. After she died, many women spoke of how she made them feel seen; how her upbeat, quirky, feminine handbags and style made them realize they were not alone.

Bourdain managed to be masculine without being swaggeringly macho. He was rugged and adventurous and knew how to use big knives, but he had his own literary imprint. Tall and handsome, he got to travel to exotic locales and he won awards, fame and wealth. Plus, he ate so well. He was also seen as a rare male hero in the #MeToo movement for championing his girlfriend Asia Argento's claims against Harvey Weinstein and for siding with women over fellow chefs. After his death, Bourdain was almost universally praised for his ability to meet people just about anywhere and fairly portray their culture to viewers who might otherwise fail to appreciate its offerings. What more could a person want?

Yet these two could not bear to live their lives any longer.

APART FROM YEARNING for more help for those who struggle with depression and mental illness (Spade's husband Andy said she had fought depression for years), what do we do with the information that those whose lives we admire cannot bear to live? How do we process the reality that all that they'd had and done were not bulwark enough against darkness? What hope is there for the rest of us?

It's not much of a solace, but perhaps one thing these deaths could remind us of is the uselessness of envy. As with many behaviors that were once considered vices—greed, sloth, lust—envy reflects a miscalculation in the relative worth of things. When we look at lives like Spade's and Bourdain's, it can make our own feel wanting. We haven't started our own companies, or turned our work experience into a book and TV show. Sometimes, we can barely get through the day. They're happier and more fulfilled, because we are not as hardworking or talented as they are. Their lives look better than ours, therefore they must be better people than we are.



Spade and Bourdain

Our desire to turn Bourdain's and Spade's successes into a judgment on our own is rooted in a flawed comparison because of incomplete data. Many lives are not as they appear. Happiness is not the end result of a sum of accomplishments. The people whose wealth/wardrobe/job/talent we wish we had have their own struggles. Bourdain seemed to hint at his when, during a particularly halcyon episode of *Parts Unknown,* he asked in a voice-over, "What do you do after your dreams come true?"

If our envy is misplaced, maybe there's also a case to be made for having more compassion. If people's lives aren't as amazingly blissful as they appear, perhaps people are not as evil or stupid as they appear, either. Bourdain once flew small-town newspaper columnist Marilyn Hagerty, whose sweet review of her local Olive Garden had been mocked on the Internet, to New York City to dine at the restaurant of the moment, Per Se, and then published a book of her columns. Spade donated boxes of new clothing and bags to the PowHerful Foundation, which helps young women succeed by ensuring that a lack of business attire doesn't obscure their talent or undermine their confidence.

It seems both Spade and Bourdain already knew that outward impressions of people's lives are often wildly off-base.

If you or someone you know may be contemplating suicide, call the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline at 1-800-273-8255

READING LIST

▸ *Highlights from stories on* **time.com/ideas**

The best books of 2018 so far

TIME staffers review and recommend **their favorite novels and nonfiction books that have come out this year,** including a fictional account of a marriage confronting a wrongful conviction, and an unnervingly timely analysis of Shakespeare's portrayals of tyrants.

The invisible ethics of body hair

Moral philosopher and author of the recent book *Perfect Me: Beauty as an Ethical Ideal,* Heather Widdows details **how our constant shaving and plucking and waxing have changed our views of "natural" bodies** and explains why there are deeper, insidious costs.

Restoring trust across America

Former TIME editor-in-chief Nancy Gibbs writes that, as the public says it has lost faith in the media, "unless you believe that the country has gotten better and stronger and fairer as trust has declined, then **we all have a stake in rebuilding some measure of faith in each other and our core institutions."**

Then FIFA president Blatter endures a flurry of fake bills thrown by a comedian on July 20, 2015

SPADE, BOURDAIN: GETTY IMAGES; BLATTER: FABRICE COFFRINI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

SPORTS

The beautiful game's ugly side

By Ken Bensinger

JUST OVER THREE YEARS AGO, THE U.S. Department of Justice shocked the world by initiating a predawn raid in Zurich, arresting several international soccer officials. To date, nearly four dozen people have been indicted in the case for exchanging hundreds of millions of dollars in bribes. Many once untouchable administrators have been banned from the sport, including longtime FIFA president Sepp Blatter. And countless fans have had to confront the grim knowledge that rampant corruption has seeped into the game they loved. Their stomachs will not be settled this summer.

Take the fact that the World Cup is being held in Russia. Many questions hang over the 2010 decision to award the tournament to the nation—ones that may remain unanswered, as FIFA's attempt to investigate the choice was stymied when Russia's bid team claimed that all its computers were destroyed after the vote. FIFA, working on the dubious principle that if there are no records, there is no crime, cleared Russia of any wrongdoing.

As if to thumb his nose at critics, Vladimir Putin last fall made a public show of inviting Blatter to attend the tournament in person—even though FIFA gave Blatter a six-year ban in 2016 from attending any event. Blatter wasted little time in accepting the Russian leader's offer, and it will be interesting to see where he will be seated at critical matches. Putin is expected to occupy a box with new FIFA president Gianni Infantino, who has already been subject to two ethics complaints.

While FIFA has implemented a number of reforms, its changes have been derided as half measures in combatting a deep-seated culture of corruption. Its June 13 decision to award the 2026 World Cup to Mexico, Canada and the U.S. over Morocco may have averted another public relations disaster. But three years after the Zurich arrests, there's still plenty to suggest it's largely the same old FIFA. While it may not offer the joy of a beautiful run by Lionel Messi, the ongoing scandal adds another dose of drama to the spectacle, and a measure of shame.

Bensinger is an investigative reporter for BuzzFeed News and the author of Red Card: How the U.S. Blew the Whistle on the World's Biggest Sports Scandal

TECH

The need for vigilance after net neutrality

Before its June 11 death, supporters of net neutrality argued that ending the rule that Internet providers must treat traffic equally would mean everything from the mundane (higher bills) to the bombastic (the end of free speech online). This may distract consumers from what they should actually look for in its wake.

Yes, companies like Verizon or Comcast may rework how they charge for services like Netflix, driving up prices for some—though potentially reducing them for others. But users are unlikely to feel those effects immediately. Service providers won't want more public outrage so soon.

The more troubling outcome could accumulate over time: power may concentrate further in the hands of a small group of digital giants. Companies like Facebook, Google and Netflix arose because they replaced something inferior, like MySpace, Yahoo and Blockbuster Video.

But without net neutrality rules preventing favoritism, the existing tech titans—even if they grow inferior—will face fewer fights from upstarts. Service providers could cut deals incentivizing users to opt for existing services instead of smaller rivals. That could leave us with fewer alternatives when the giants behave badly. This does not bode well for our tendency to ignore troubling actions—say, allowing shady third parties to access our most personal data—until it's too late.

—Alex Fitzpatrick

THE 'DA
D

President Trump's

President Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un meet in Singapore on June 12

RE ME' OCTRINE

defiant diplomacy **By Brian Bennett**/Singapore

PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN VUCCI

Kim Jong Un had a request. As Donald Trump wooed the North Korean leader inside a former British garrison in Singapore, Kim asked Trump to suspend military exercises by U.S. and South Korean forces on the Korean Peninsula, long a source of concern for Pyongyang's hair-trigger military. It wasn't something that had been negotiated by their staffs, and some of Trump's aides were concerned that the concession would irritate allies. But he calculated that it was worth the risk, and without consulting anyone further, he told Kim on the spot that he'd do it.

It was exactly the kind of shoot-from-the-hip move they hate in the pin-striped confines of the State Department. But the moment was classic Trump. "I'll do whatever it takes to make the world a safer place," he said in a press conference after the summit, in response to a question from TIME. "If I can save millions of lives by coming here, sitting down and establishing a relationship with someone who's a very powerful man, who's got firm control of a country and that country has very powerful nuclear weapons, it's my honor to do it."

The war-game concession was just the latest in a series of surprising turns in what may ultimately prove to be a historic moment. Since inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency were blocked from visiting North Korean nuclear sites during the first term of Bill Clinton's presidency, the U.S. and its allies have struggled with the growing threat of a nuclear-armed North Korea. Multiparty agreements, crippling sanctions and threats of military intervention have failed to prevent the totalitarian state from approaching the ability to strike the U.S. with a nuclear-tipped missile.

Now, in less than a year, Trump has gone from threatening Kim with annihilation to the first face-to-face talks between a sitting U.S. President and a North Korean leader. The result was mixed. Trump touted his "terrific relationship" with Kim, a verbal promise Kim gave him that he was destroying a missile-engine test site and Kim's "unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula." Trump also secured the return of the remains of 5,300 service members who died during the Korean War. But experts pointed out that Kim had made only vague promises of the kind that Pyongyang had violated multiple times before.

The summit theater was the latest and most dramatic example of how the impulsive President is upending the global order. Three days earlier, as he flew to Singapore aboard Air Force One after a testy, two-day economic summit with six of the U.S.'s closest allies, Trump had grown livid as he watched Canadian Prime Minster Justin Trudeau declare that the new U.S. trade tariffs were unfair. Scowling at the flat-screen TV in the plane's private office, according to a White House official, Trump ordered his aides to back out of the summit's final communiqué, which had already been publicly released after two days of negotiations. The move was met with stunned protest from Ottawa to London to Paris. But that's how things work now. With each feat of showmanship or fit of pique, Trump is redefining America's role on the world stage.

'IF YOU GO INTO A MEETING AND SAY WE CAN'T DO THAT ... [TRUMP'S] GOING TO WANT TO DO IT.'

SENIOR NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL

EARLY ON, Trump heeded his top aides when they urged caution. But in the past six months, he has taken increasingly dramatic risks—especially in foreign policy. In December, Trump committed to moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, overriding the dire predictions about Middle East chaos. In March, he threatened to impose stiff trade tariffs on China and Europe, then enacted them two months later after global markets generally bounced back from initial losses. In May, he withdrew the U.S. from the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran, even though Europe, international agencies and some of his own senior aides said Iran was complying with it.

The populist has famously bristled at convention. "If you go into a meeting and say we can't do that, or that's not the way it's been done, you can be assured he's going to want to do it," says one senior National Security Council official. "He thinks the way it's been done is wrong and stupid and won't work." But lately Trump has become increasingly energized by the idea that he's shattering precedent, and feels vindicated by the results of his risky moves, according to interviews with more than a dozen friends, aides and former officials. "He recognizes that people always are running around, it seems, with their hair on fire," senior White House aide Kellyanne Conway told TIME. "He sees that all those attempts [by past Administrations] have been failures, and they have been aborted promises. So he says, 'Let's just try it a different way.'"

There may be short-term benefits in abandoning the U.S.'s decades-old commitment to strategic predictability. But foreign-policy experts at both ends of the political spectrum are worried about the costs. "Rattling allies undermines decades of strategic certainty" in international affairs, says Mark Dubowitz, CEO of the hawkish Foundation for Defense of Democracies. Already, other countries are retaliating with trade tariffs that could boost prices at home, slow the global economy and spike unemployment.

Kim and Trump sign documents on June 12 saying their countries commit to resolve the nuclear standoff

Trump's backing of Sunni and Israeli moves against Iran, in addition to his withdrawal from the 2015 nuclear deal, are encouraging a dangerous proxy war in the Middle East, where over 25,000 U.S. troops remain deployed.

Nowhere are the stakes are higher than in North Korea, where diplomatic failure could set the course for renewed military confrontation. If Trump misplays his hand, it could endanger millions of lives.

FOR THOSE who have known the President for years, his handling of the summit was trademark Trump: casting aside strategic prudence for a theatrical gesture, with an impulsiveness rooted in the belief that he alone could cut the big deal. This confidence was visible seven years ago, at the 2011 White House Correspondents' Association dinner, when Trump was already thinking about launching a campaign for the presidency, according to those who saw him in action that night.

During a 10-minute conversation at a table in the center of the ballroom, Trump asked Nick Ayers, who was then a young Republican strategist and is now Vice President Mike Pence's chief of staff, questions about the mechanics of presidential campaigns and political organizations and committees, according to a person at the dinner. Later in the evening, Trump sat stone-faced as comedian Seth Meyers skewered Trump for his questions about President Obama's birthplace and said he was surprised Trump was running as a Republican because "I just assumed he was running as a joke."

Five years later, in July 2016, Ayers was swept into Trump's campaign effort as part of Pence's team. The day after Trump won the election, Ayers asked Trump if he recalled their conversation that night, according to a person close to Trump who was in the room. Trump said it was one of two or three moments that convinced him to launch a full-fledged bid for the White House. He heard the punch lines as a challenge. "Oh yeah, you think I can't do it?" the person said, describing Trump's reaction. "Watch me do it."

Trump wasted no time tossing diplomatic conventions overboard. The day after the 2016 election, Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe called Trump on his personal cell phone. Trump was in his office with a handful of senior aides and put Abe on speakerphone. After exchanging pleasantries, Trump said what he often tells acquaintances: if Abe were ever in New York, he should look him up. Abe said he would be in New York the following week. So Trump agreed to meet him, violating a long-standing tradition that a President-elect doesn't meet with foreign leaders until they've taken the oath of office. The Obama White House was apoplectic. But Trump wouldn't cancel the meeting. The sit-down with Abe initiated what would become Trump's closest relationship with a world leader and set the tone for his engagement with Asian powers.

Trump's first year in office was marked by running battles between his instincts and his aides. Some White House staffers appealed to the President's gut, while others tried to outmaneuver or wait out the President's impulses. In order to manage Trump's behavior in briefings, for example, his second National Security Adviser, H.R. McMaster, began having aides prepare cards that answered four basic questions: Why are we doing this? What will it cost? What are others paying or

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; THIS PAGE: SAUL LOEB–AFP/GETTY IMAGES

doing? And what happens next?

For a while, it worked. In the summer of 2017, Trump repeatedly demanded to know why the U.S. was still in Afghanistan after toppling the Taliban government in 2001, but ultimately agreed to boost troop levels there, in line with Establishment thinking. He groused in response to the litany of concerns voiced by aides about moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem, which his transition staff had prepared for him to do on his first day in office. But he deferred action on the move. He complained that bureaucrats were overstating the potential fallout of ditching the Iran nuclear deal, but put off pulling out of it as he had promised to do during the campaign.

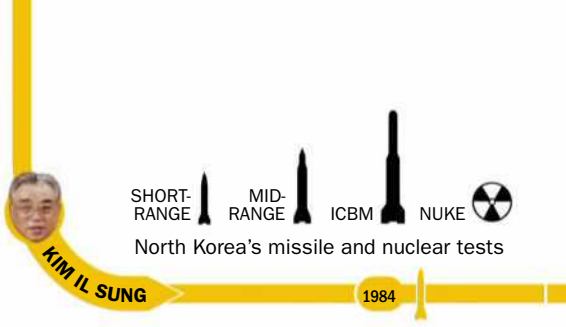
When aides like Tillerson, Defense Secretary James Mattis and Trump's former economic adviser Gary Cohn succeeded in suppressing his instincts, it came at a cost. Trump railed against his Cabinet secretaries and staff. The Iran deal was a source of particular frustration. Thanks to the checks Republicans placed on the deal when Obama signed it, Trump was required every three months to certify that Iran was complying with the agreement. Advisers predicted that European markets would tank if Trump didn't. Feeling boxed in, the President demanded other options. In July 2017, with another three-month certification looming, Trump's national-security staff had none to offer. Trump exploded. "This is never f-cking happening again," he said, according to two people familiar with the meeting.

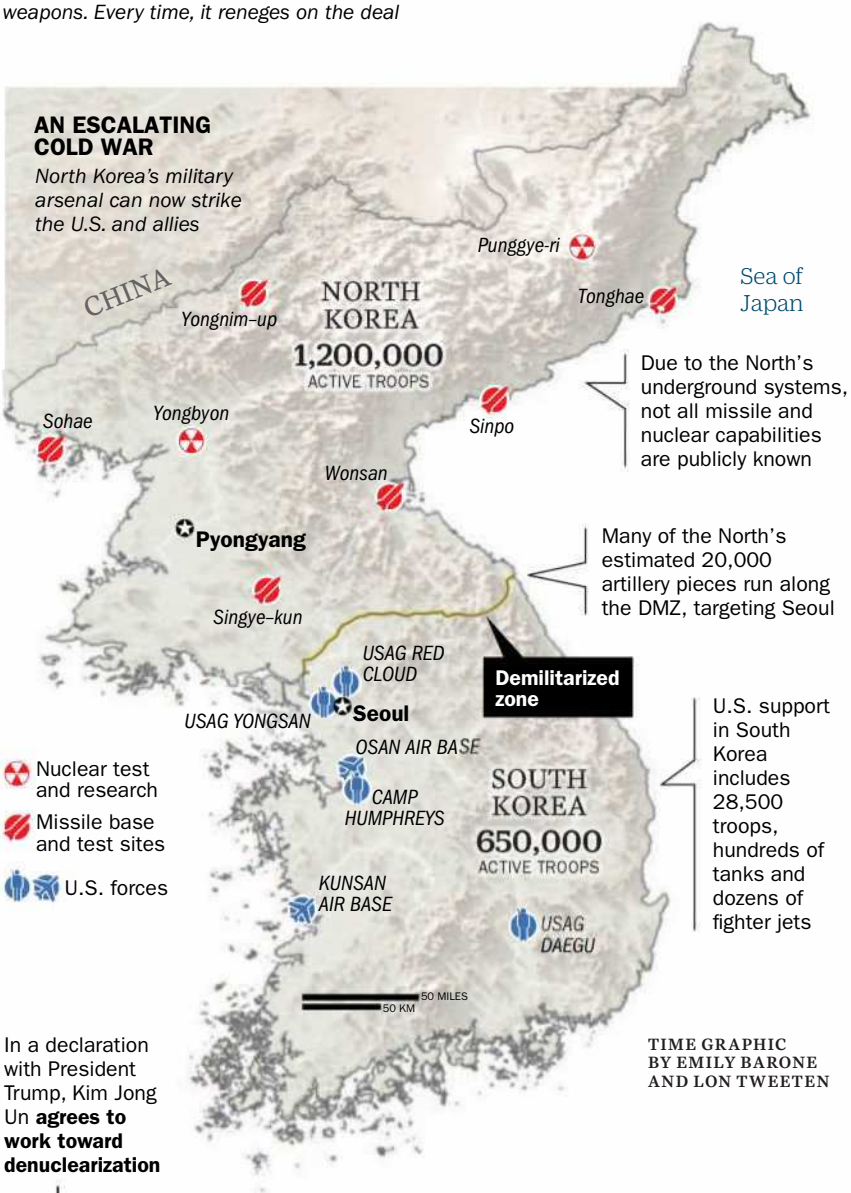
Against this backdrop, the President shook up his inner circle, firing chief of staff Reince Priebus and replacing him with Homeland Security boss John Kelly. In exchange for imposing discipline, the retired Marine general demanded tight control over the White House decision-making process. For a while, Kelly's guardrails constrained Trump. But over time they, too, have failed.

Much of the slippage came on the domestic front, with Trump lashing out more frequently and harshly at special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into his campaign's contacts with Russian officials, demanding the deployment of National Guard troops

A HISTORY OF BROKEN PROMISES

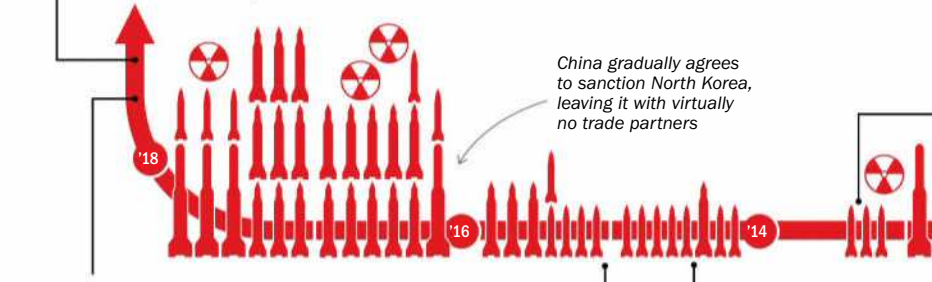
The Kim regime has repeatedly agreed to stop developing missiles and nuclear weapons. Every time, it reneges on the deal





TIME GRAPHIC BY EMILY BARONE AND LON TWEETEN

In a declaration with President Trump, Kim Jong Un **agrees to work toward denuclearization**



The North and South **sign a commitment** to formally end the Korean War and pursue a nuclear-free peninsula

North Korea **promises to suspend nuclear tests if the U.S. and South Korea call off joint military exercises.** The U.S. rejects the offer

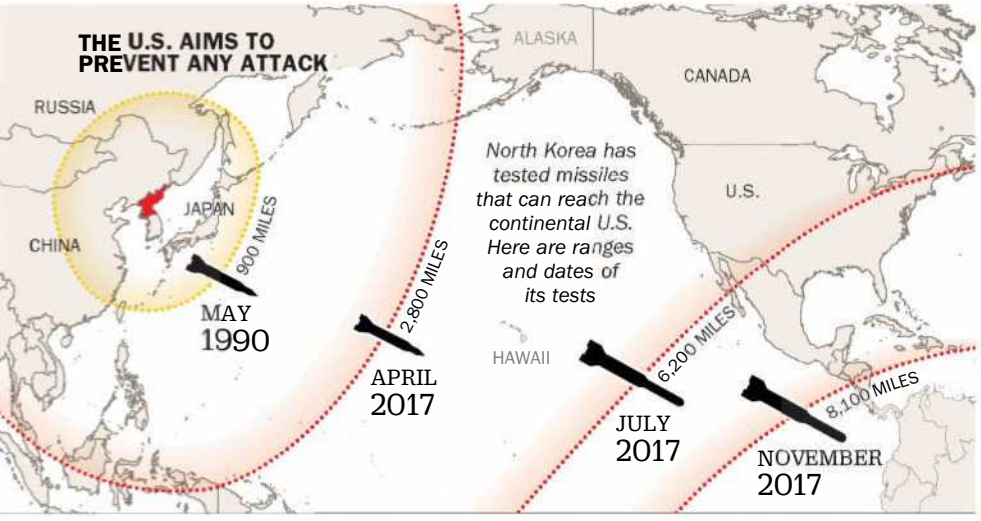
GETTY IMAGES (3)

North Korea **joins the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT),** an agreement among 191 states to stop the spread of nuclear weapons

The Soviet Union falls. The North's energy imports fall by 75%

South Korea and North Korea **sign the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula,** agreeing to not manufacture, receive or use nuclear weapons

'86 '88 '90 '92



DISTANCES DO NOT ACCOUNT FOR WARHEAD PAYLOAD

NORTH KOREA AIMS TO IMPROVE ITS ECONOMY

The U.S. and other world powers have cut off ***trade***

90%

North Korean exports that have been sanctioned since 2006

as well as ***humanitarian aid***

$249M

$59M

2000–05 *2006–17*

Average annual aid

deepening the North's ***disparities*** *with the South*

N.K. $1,700

S.K. $39,400

Per capita GDP

and contributing to the country's ***isolation***

41%

Population that is undernourished (10.5 million people)

SOURCES: ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION; CENTER FOR STRATEGIC & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES; NUCLEAR THREAT INITIATIVE; DOD; CIA WORLD FACTBOOK; U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL; NEWS REPORTS

KIM JONG IL

The U.S. and North Korea sign the 1994 **Agreed Framework deal** to replace the North's power plants in exchange for better trade relations

'96

Floods trigger a famine that lasts until 1998. Hundreds of thousands die

North Korea, after being heavily sanctioned for launching ballistic missiles, **promises a moratorium on long-range missile tests**

'98

'00

Japan pledges economic assistance if North Korea extends **its missile-test moratorium**

The South attempts to reunify the peninsula through an initiative called the "Sunshine Policy"

'02

After North Korea **reopens nuclear plants and exits the NPT,** six states including the U.S. launch a series of diplomacy talks

'04

A U.S. Department of Defense report reveals that North Korea produces large quantities of **various chemical weapons**

Bill Clinton negotiates the release of two U.S. journalists who had been imprisoned for entering North Korea illegally

KIM JONG UN

'10 '08 '06

South Korea **conducts missile tests amid rising military threats** from the North

South Korean **submarine *ROKS Cheonan* is sunk,** kiling 46. An international investigation blames the North, which denies involvement

In a round of six-party talks, North Korea **agrees to disable all nuclear facilities** but later denies making the commitment

to the border and announcing pardons with little input from the Justice Department or his staff.

But arguably the biggest breaks have come on foreign policy. When Trump took office, the State Department sent a document to the White House predicting that dozens of U.S. embassies would be overrun with protesters if Trump decided to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Tillerson stuck to that line so hard that around the West Wing he become known as the Doomsayer, according to a White House official.

The issue came to a head near the end of the year, when Trump pushed the case and Tillerson demurred. Diplomats from Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia warned the White House that their leaders would issue forceful objections if Trump went forward, citing fears that formally acknowledging Jerusalem would spark violent clashes over the ownership of a city that has long been a lightning rod for religious and nationalist passions. But on Dec. 6, Trump announced that the embassy would move, and now many White House officials feel that the dire warnings were overblown.

The jockeying wasn't done. Officials tried to stall the move. At a rally on May 10 in Elkhart, Ind., Trump himself described one such attempt, saying advisers told him it would cost $1 billion and take years to complete. He said he called the U.S. Ambassador to Israel, David Friedman, who told Trump he could move the embassy into an existing building in Jerusalem for $150,000. "David, you can do that from $1 billion to $150,000. You know what? Spend $200,000 or $300,000—that's O.K. too," Trump said. Friedman's move was largely symbolic: he had a large stone plaque installed on an existing consular office and transferred some staff from the existing embassy in Tel Aviv to populate it.

Trump came under pressure from world leaders at the G-7 summit in Charlevoix, Canada

By the time Trump walked away from the Iran deal, it was clear that the dam had broken during the previous five months and that a two-week period in early March had been particularly telling. On March 1, Trump announced new aluminum and steel tariffs on Europe and China. On March 13, he replaced Tillerson with his hawkish CIA director, Mike Pompeo.

It was right in the middle of this period that a special envoy from South Korea arrived in Washington on March 8, with a message so urgent and sensitive, it needed to be delivered in person.

VIEWPOINT

ONE REAL SUMMIT WIN

By Beatrice Fihn

"A stunning concession." That was the consensus of the world's media gathered in Singapore, where President Trump announced that the U.S. would halt all military exercises with South Korea.

But by saying he would discontinue the war games, Trump is in effect offering to stop the simulated mass murder of North Koreans. Don't let military language sugarcoat this: when you send a nuclear bomber on a "dry run," you are practicing the indiscriminate murder of civilians. Each year, that's exactly what South Korea and the U.S. have been doing.

It is time to unravel the anachronistic security framework of the constant threat of mass extinction. Last year, 122 states at the U.N. voted to adopt the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. That means most of the world agrees that any nuclear weapon, anywhere, is an unacceptable threat to all nations.

I was in Singapore for the summit to advocate for the treaty as the most appropriate instrument used for Korean denuclearization. The treaty doesn't tweet, it doesn't change its mind on the plane home, and it can't have its ego bruised. It's the only comprehensive, verifiable and irreversible way to achieve meaningful nuclear disarmament.

More than that, it is an international solution. Nuclear war does not respect borders. Any "limited" nuclear attack on Pyongyang would blanket Seoul in deadly radiation. Beyond the immediate deaths from nuclear weapons, millions more would die from radiation exposure and resulting famine.

That's why the solution must also cross borders. It is not enough for North Korea to give up its weapons program. To fully denuclearize the Korean Peninsula, South Korea would also have to leave the protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

Starting that process with the cessation of U.S.–South Korea war games—or rather, practicing the mass murder of innocents—is a good step toward ending nuclear weapons. It is not a concession. There is no weakness in giving up something that the majority of nations have decided is illegal.

Fihn is the executive director of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, which won the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize

THE DOOR to the Oval Office clicked shut. The South Korean envoy had told Trump that Kim Jong Un wanted to meet him as soon as possible. Would Trump accept? The President turned to the handful of senior advisers and jutted out his chin in what aides have come to recognize as a sign that he's about to say something provocative. "I'm inclined to do it," Trump said. "What do you think?"

There were a million reasons to say no, and as the South Korean envoy cooled his heels across the hall in the Roosevelt Room, Trump's aides took turns listing them, according to two U.S. officials briefed on the meeting. For years, the U.S. had refused to reward North Korea's treaty-violating pursuit of nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles; a face-to-face meeting would seem to do just that. Moreover, with little time to plan tactics and strategy, or to demand concessions, there was no way to tell what Kim might give up in return. Worst of all, if talks proved that there could be no diplomatic solution to the standoff, then military conflict—even nuclear war—could become more likely.

But in a matter of minutes, Trump had made up his mind. By quickly saying yes to a meeting, the President thought, he would test Kim's intentions and put him off-balance, explains a close aide. Trump summoned the South Korean diplomats into the Oval Office and beamed. "Let's do it, fellas," the President said.

Trump wasn't done surprising his staff or his South Korean guests. He had, in some ways, internalized the concerns of his aides. The South Koreans assured Trump that Kim was open to giving up his nukes, wouldn't object to U.S.-Korean military exercises and promised to stop nuclear and missile tests. But none of that was in writing. Trump wanted to protect himself. So as he sat with the South Korean envoy, national-security adviser Chung Eui-yong, in the armchairs before the Oval Office fireplace, Trump made an unusual proposal. "Here's an idea: how about you make the announcement," Trump said, according to the officials.

It went against long-standing diplomatic protocol for an ally to speak on behalf of the U.S. President. But while White House aides helped draft

JESCO DENZEL—BUNDESREGIERUNG/GETTY IMAGES

ANALYSIS

THE MACHIAVELLIAN MR. KIM

By Charlie Campbell/Singapore

Kim Jong Un was anything but formidable when he first stepped onto the world stage in 2011. With head bowed, the 27-year-old wept before the casket of his late father Kim Jong Il. Rumors suggested the scion was a hard-partying libertine, while a CIA psychological profile painted him as an egotist who lashed out savagely at perceived insults. Intelligence officials doubted his rule would last longer than a few years and, if it did, only at the pleasure of North Korean elites who would control him from the shadows.

But the young dictator has turned out to be anything but a puppet. Kim defanged the powerful military by purging hundreds of top brass, including his powerful uncle Jang Song Thaek. He transformed the North Korean economy by ceasing collectivization and allowing the marketplace to thrive. The famines that claimed some 500,000 lives between 1993 and 2000 are no more. And he turned a fledgling nuclear program into President Donald Trump's top foreign policy problem. He is estimated to have enough material for up to 60 nuclear bombs and has long-range missiles that can reach any U.S. city. "If your objective is to maintain a dictatorship, the last five years under Kim couldn't have been scripted better," says Daniel Pinkston of Troy University in Seoul.

The payoff for that Machiavellian maneuvering came when Trump met Kim in Singapore, giving the North Korean a degree of legitimacy his father and grandfather never achieved. Trump added to Kim's win by nixing the joint U.S.–South Korea military drills that Pyongyang loathes, and by praising Kim effusively. Said Trump, "He's a very talented man [and] he loves his country very much."

That might be news to the estimated 100,000 North Koreans in forced-labor camps who are subjected to abuses that the U.N. has declared crimes against humanity. Under Kim's regime dissenters are silenced, and border guards are ordered to shoot attempted defectors on sight. Kim ordered the gruesome public execution of his half brother Kim Jong Nam with the toxic nerve agent VX in the Kuala Lumpur airport in February 2017. Kim presided over the death, possibly by torture, of American student Otto Warmbier. And he has boosted his regime's cyberwarfare program, launching the WannaCry ransomware attack that caused billions of dollars of damage in 150 countries.

Trump looked past all that at the Singapore summit, talking up instead the potential for condos on North Korean beaches. But experts see a different future, based on Kim's moves so far. They find Kim's pledge in Singapore of "unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization" not much more convincing than the similar agreements he and his predecessors signed and subsequently violated in 1992, 1994, 2005 and 2012.

Instead, Kim appears to be exploiting the rivalry between the U.S. and China. "North Korea wants to be the Pakistan of East Asia," says Bruce Klingner, an analyst with the Heritage Foundation. Pakistan was sanctioned for nuclear tests in 1998, but improved relations with the U.S. by aiding the fight against Islamic terrorist groups. Kim may hope the summit is the first step in that direction. And indeed, Beijing has already loosened sanctions enforcement at its long border with North Korea, fearing the U.S. might be gaining influence in Pyongyang.

Achieving de facto recognition as a nuclear state and joining the global community as a peer would be an audacious, unlikely transformation for long-suffering North Korea. But Kim wanted nuclear capabilities and he has them. He wanted a date with Trump and he got it. The hated military drills are no more. Don't bet against what Kim sets his sights on next. The dictator is on a roll.

a statement for Chung to read, the jet-lagged diplomat called his boss, South Korean President Moon Jae-in. Just after 7 p.m.—two hours after delivering the message from Kim—Chung walked into the West Wing driveway and announced that Trump had agreed to meet the brutal dictator.

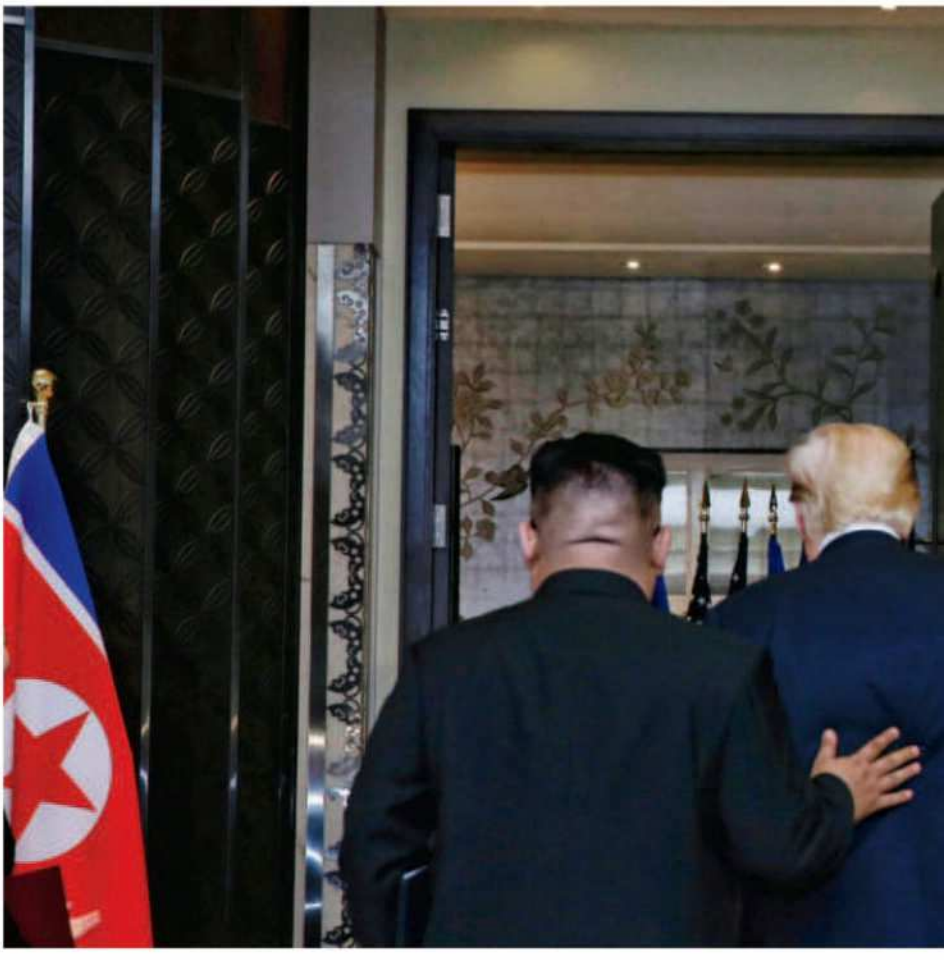
It was only the beginning of a diplomatic dance that would stun foreign-policy experts. Pompeo made two surprise trips to Pyongyang and brought back three freed American prisoners. Asked on May 9 if he deserved the Nobel Peace Prize, Trump replied, "Everyone thinks so, but I would never say it." It was clear that he was beginning to enjoy himself.

But it turned out that dealing with North Korea might not be so easy. Late one Wednesday night at the end of May, Trump's national-security team told him a North Korean official had called Pence a "political dummy" and threatened a nuclear "showdown." On top of that, the delegation the President had sent to Singapore two weeks earlier to hammer out the summit details had been stood up. North Korea had gone radio-silent for more than a week.

It was starting to look like the summit would be a diplomatic and public relations disaster.

Trump decided to sleep on it. The next morning, after firing off two tweets alleging without proof that the FBI had sent a spy to infiltrate his campaign, Trump personally dictated a letter to Kim that announced he was canceling the summit. The letter, equal parts wistful and threatening, called Kim "His Excellency," but pointedly noted that the U.S. President was hoping not to have to use America's "massive and powerful" nuclear capabilities against the young dictator.

Just over a week later, North Korea's No. 2 official, Kim Yong Chol, walked into the Oval Office and personally presented Trump with a letter the size of a legal pad. The summit was back on.



Kim and Trump depart the signing ceremony at the end of their meeting in Singapore on June 12

TO HIS FANS, Trump's growing international disruptions are a welcome development. "That's exactly what we were hoping for when he was a candidate—someone who acts less like a politician and more like a businessman, someone who sees the field and makes a decision," says Eric Bolling, a former Fox News anchor and early campaign supporter who regularly speaks to Trump and believes the President's unpredictability keeps foreign leaders off guard.

Of course, Trump is hardly the first President to make decisions spontaneously. President George H.W. Bush surprised his staff in 1990 when he drew a red line after Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, telling reporters on the South Lawn of the White House that Iraq's aggression "will not stand," and setting the stage for the first Gulf War. President Richard Nixon unexpectedly created what is now a long-standing U.S. policy of not negotiating with terrorists when, faced with questions from reporters about two U.S. diplomats and three others held hostage in Sudan in 1973, he said the U.S. "will not pay blackmail."

But in previous Administrations, these types of incidents were rare. "This President is interacting on an hourly basis, and there is no filter," says Timothy Naftali, a presidential historian at New York University. "There are no staffers between his impulses and his Twitter finger." Trump is burning up political capital in the process. "The White House is historically designed in order to limit the risk of embarrassment," Naftali says. "If he would use his staff better, he wouldn't find himself in these embarrassing positions."

There costs are mounting. In the wake of Trump's break with the other G-7 countries ahead of the Singapore summit, the French government suggested Trump had acted rashly and out of anger, and criticized his inconsistency. Canada's Parliament unanimously condemned Trump's criticisms of Trudeau and backed the

'IF HE WOULD USE HIS STAFF BETTER, HE WOULDN'T FIND HIMSELF IN THESE EMBARRASSING POSITIONS.'

TIMOTHY NAFTALI, presidential historian

KEVIN LIM—THE STRAITS TIMES/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

government's hardening stance over the NAFTA negotiations.

And while the Middle East hasn't yet blown up over Trump's Jerusalem embassy move or his departure from the Iran deal, both are proving destabilizing. Protests along Israel's border with Gaza have claimed more than 100 lives, and have raised concerns in Cairo that the unrest could spread to the border with neighboring Egypt. European and Chinese attempts to salvage the Iran deal are faltering, and Iran says it will increase its uranium enrichment capacity now that the U.S. has abandoned the pact.

In the case of another potential summit with North Korea, embarrassment could prove even more costly. Trump billed the Singapore meeting as just the first of several. But longtime U.S. intelligence analysts are concerned that Kim may use drawn-out talks to further advance his nuclear program, as North Korea has done in the past.

There's also a concern that talks may implode if Trump feels slighted, as he did after the G-7 meeting. This time the fallout would do more than bruise the U.S.'s relationships with its steadiest allies; it would endanger millions of lives on the

VIEWPOINT

TRUMP SWAPS FRIENDS FOR FOES

By Ian Bremmer

Every nation, even a superpower, needs friends. Whether a leader identifies terrorism or climate change or protectionism or nuclear proliferation as a priority challenge, allies are needed to meet them. Once again, Donald Trump sees things differently.

For evidence, look no further than the fallout from the worst G-7 summit in memory. The U.S. now has tariffs in place against the E.U., Canada and Japan. In Quebec, Canada's Justin Trudeau and France's Emmanuel Macron set aside the buddy approach with Trump that has so far yielded few results to try some carefully worded straight talk. That appears to have infuriated Trump, who tweeted that Trudeau was "dishonest & weak" from his plane bound for Singapore.

There, Trump met with the North Korean leader he once derided as "Rocket Man" and with whom he now hopes to cut a deal. Kim Jong Un is believed to have ordered the execution of at least 340 people since 2011, and has bragged of his ability to hit the U.S. mainland with a nuclear weapon. Trump hailed him as a "very talented man."

Of course, we don't make peace with our friends but our enemies, as former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin once noted. And to be sure, the U.S. President deserves credit for a bold move that has made conflict less likely. Since Trump assumed office, China has tightened sanctions against North Korea, Pyongyang has suspended nuclear and ballistic missile testing, North Korea has released U.S. prisoners, and Kim has begun reaching out diplomatically to countries like South Korea, Russia and the U.S. Those are serious accomplishments.

Yet lasting peace with North Korea remains beyond the horizon. And in the meantime, U.S. allies in the region are being left on the sidelines. In exchange for vague promises of denuclearization, Trump pledged to call off its military exercises with South Korea—to the apparent surprise of Seoul. No doubt, Japan will be wondering about its own war games with the U.S. post-summit. Japan's Defense Minister cautioned that "we should be careful about lowering our guard until we can confirm that specific steps have been taken."

Still, Trump seems to have developed an interest in what high-level summits with global pariahs can achieve. He has suggested a similar meeting with Russia's Vladimir Putin, which could take place in Vienna. "President Putin is ready for such a meeting," Russia's Foreign Minister said. On his way to fight with the G-7 allies, Trump told reporters he thought Russia should be re-admitted to that club, even though its troops still occupy parts of Ukraine.

But Trump may be hemmed in by his own government. As he traveled to meet Kim, the Treasury Department sanctioned five Russian companies and three Russian individuals for supporting state cyber-aggression against the U.S. There will be more such penalties, and members of Congress will continue to denounce Russia and Putin.

A strategy of treating friends as enemies and enemies as friends also risks empowering those who are not quite either—principally, China. Here, Trump's main challenge is to win concessions while averting a costly trade war. Economic interdependence and mutually assured economic destruction will help limit the damage, but the U.S. President's fist-shaking and threats are creating opportunities for China to forge new ties with the allies Trump continues to antagonize.

Trump is a talented politician. He knows his "America first" message plays well with his most loyal backers. Perhaps his defiance and an "us vs. the world" approach will again inspire his supporters to vote. Is it good for his country? That's another question.

Korean Peninsula. In addition to an arsenal of atomic bombs secreted away in underground tunnels across the country, North Korea has approximately 11,000 pieces of artillery aimed at Seoul from the mountains north of the demilitarized zone. Destroying those positions would take days, during which bombs would be raining down on the Seoul metropolitan area's population of 25 million.

"The danger is that he is approaching this almost as a reality show," says Jeffrey Prescott, a former senior National Security Council official under Obama. "He's thinking about the short-term benefit he could get from the pageantry of the summit itself and could lose sight of the substance of the threat." Kim wants to be seen on equal footing with the U.S. and, ultimately, secure a guarantee that the U.S. won't attack and will eventually leave the Korean Peninsula.

There is another possibility: that through chance, shifting interests and the mix of Kim's strategy and Trump's spontaneity, the Singapore summit will represent a real breakthrough. When Trump took office, Washington elites were arguing over two options for dealing with Kim's nukes: military intervention or learning to live with a nuclear North Korea through deterrence. This summit, for all its showmanship, may very well leave the U.S. better positioned than either of those offerings. Trump's "diplomacy, however unconventional, has pierced the isolation bubble of the North Korean leadership, which no previous President could do," wrote Victor Cha, President George W. Bush's director for Asian affairs at the National Security Council from 2004 to 2007, in the New York *Times* on June 12.

On his way back to the White House from Air Force One after departing from Singapore, Trump was in a defiant, even ebullient, mood. In defense of his cancellation of the military exercises, for example, he tweeted at his critics, "We save a fortune by not doing war games, as long as we are negotiating in good faith—which both sides are." A few in Washington agreed, including some Democrats. But there were plenty who saw in Trump's latest impulsive moves a dangerous trend. The President rolls the die, breaks diplomatic norms and relishes the fact that predicted catastrophe doesn't come to pass. Which is fine unless it does. ◻

VIEWPOINT

'WAR GAMES' ARE NOTHING TO TOY WITH

By James Stavridis

At the final press conference of his whirlwind summit, President Trump announced offhandedly that the U.S. would end what he called its "provocative war games" with South Korea. But "war games" is a misrepresentation. Trump is sacrificing joint operational military exercises in which ships, aircraft, ground forces and special operators practice executing defined war plans. To have forces forward deployed without the benefit of this practice could lead to major losses in a real fight. After decades as a senior military officer, I cannot imagine stopping them without first seeing tangible progress in not only North Korean denuclearization, but also demilitarization by that nation, which fields the world's fourth-largest army.

America does these exercises constantly, often on a weekly basis, with larger events monthly and truly grand-scale exercises a couple of times a year. A weekly exercise might be a U.S. engineering company working alongside our South Korean partners to practice clearing battlefield obstructions. Each month might see our fighter jets in mock combat over the skies of South Korea. A big semi-annual event would include warships from the U.S., Japan, Australia, Singapore and other allies operating together off the coasts of the Korean Peninsula, with tens of thousands of troops involved. If we were to unilaterally stop all of those exercises, our readiness would suffer considerably, given all they do to prepare us to "fight tonight"—the motto of U.S. Forces Korea.

This will have a highly negative impact on the seriousness with which our allies—notably South Korea, but also other Indo-Asian partners—view our military capability. They prize and seek out our professionalism and preparedness. This announcement shocked them. They may hesitate to align with us going forward.

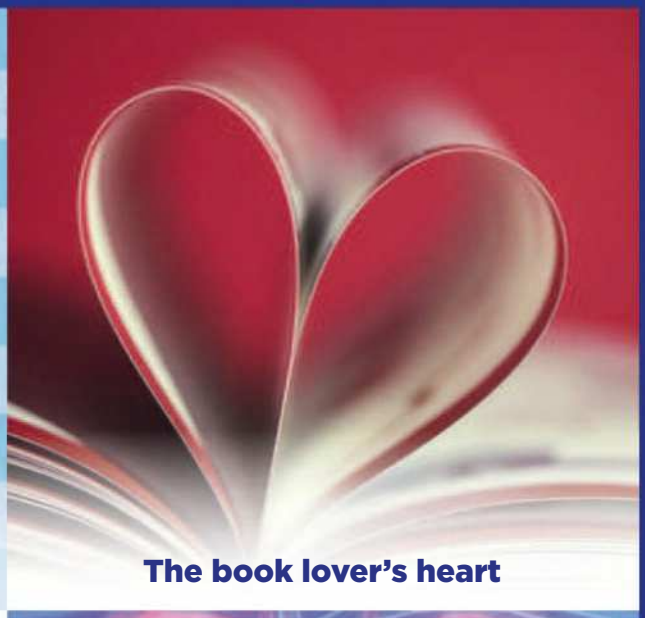
Morale will also drop within the U.S. forces themselves if they are not allowed to practice for war. Nobody knows better than our soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines the importance of these exercises. As the military saying goes, "The more you sweat in practice, the less you bleed in war." Additionally, the announcement seemed to catch the Pentagon by surprise, and the cavalier way in which Trump rolled it out will diminish the confidence that the troops—and the Secretary of Defense—have in the Commander in Chief.

What is particularly troubling is that we've offered up this bargaining chip seemingly without getting anything in return other than vague promises from Kim Jong Un on eventual denuclearization and the return of remains of 5,300 U.S. servicemen killed in the Korean War. Even if that happens—and it has been promised before with almost no lasting effect—North Korea's conventional force would still pose a significant threat to the South. Without a U.S. military presence and these exercises, North Korea would become the dominant actor on the peninsula, especially with Chinese backing.

Trump seems to see all of this—military exercises, consulting with allies, stationing troops overseas—as expensive and troublesome. What he misses is that these efforts are part of a coherent whole that creates a network of allies and coalition partners around the world who are willing to stand with us on the big issues. Snap decisions to stop our exercises, even when in the cause of moving a peace process forward, can hurt us badly around the globe.

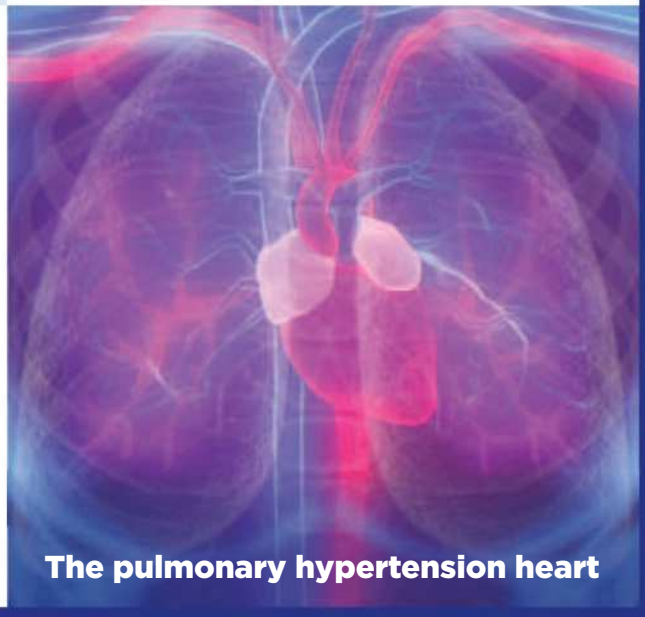
Stavridis was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander at NATO and is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University

The food lover's heart



The book lover's heart

The lover's heart



The pulmonary hypertension heart

Pulmonary hypertension puts unbearable stress on the heart.

Often misdiagnosed - as asthma, for example - Pulmonary Hypertension **(PH)** can cause death from heart failure. There is no cure. But at the Pulmonary Hypertension Association, we're giving hope to PH patients and caregivers. Learn how you can help at **www.PHAssociation.org**

PHA Pulmonary Hypertension Association

We're putting our heart into finding a cure.

The Women Are Winning

Why female candidates are dominating the 2018 Democratic primaries By Molly Ball

LIKE A LOT OF LIBERAL WOMEN, KATIE PORTER DIDN'T like what she was seeing in Washington. So the Southern California law professor decided to run for Congress to do something about it. In April 2017, the Democrat announced that she would challenge Republican incumbent Mimi Walters, who represents the 45th District in historically conservative Orange County.

Porter, 44, is a consumer-protection attorney who co-authored a book with Senator Elizabeth Warren. But just a few days after she launched her campaign, a younger male colleague at the same law school—whom Porter helped land his job—got in the race too. He warned that she was too liberal to win. The California Democratic Party endorsed him over her.

On June 5, Porter won the primary anyway, and in November, she'll be on the midterm ballot in a district that Hillary Clinton won by 5 points. "People here are fired up," Porter tells TIME. "If we want to stand up to Trump's agenda, we need a Congresswoman who represents our values."

Her victory highlights a dominant theme of this year's primary season. After running for office in record numbers, women are now winning Democratic nominations at a record rate. In Democratic primaries that have featured at least one woman and one man but no incumbent, women have won the most votes 71% of the time, according to Dave Wasserman, an analyst for the Cook Political Report, a Washington-based newsletter. The situation is different on the Republican side, where women have won 35% of those scenarios. In Democratic primaries, Wasserman has calculated a "gender bonus" of 15% for female candidates.

Democratic primary winners this year include, clockwise from top right, Kara Eastman, Madeleine Dean, Stacey Abrams, Amy McGrath, Susan Wild, Katie Porter, Deb Haaland and Michelle Lujan Grisham

ILLUSTRATION BY ELEANOR SHAKESPEARE FOR TIME

madeleine
DEAN
DEAN

On June 5, the biggest primary day of the year, 42 of the 48 candidates endorsed by Emily's List, which supports pro-choice Democratic women, prevailed in races up and down the ballot in eight states, from governor to state legislature. Overall, 104 of the group's 123 primary candidates have triumphed this year, well above its usual success rate in what are often heated intraparty contests. Far more than any ideological trend, Wasserman wrote, "the drive to elect women is defining 2018's Democratic primaries."

The trend shows no signs of abating. On June 12, women dominated Democratic congressional primaries in Virginia, while Maine attorney general Janet Mills led narrowly in the state's Democratic gubernatorial primary, which was too close to call. "It's exhilarating," Mills, who would be the state's first female governor, says of being part of this prospective vanguard.

The result is that women, many of them new to politics, will be the face of the Democratic Party in the first national election of the Trump era. That wasn't necessarily the party's plan. Many successful female candidates have, like Porter, needed to overcome the Democratic establishment to win their primaries. In California, the state's Democratic Party did not endorse a female challenger for the 10 Republican-held House seats the party is targeting in the state.

Why are all these women winning in spite of such obstacles? One reason is that other women are campaigning, organizing and voting for them. The inchoate rage of the 2017 Women's March has been channeled into thousands of activist cells across the country. Women dominate the so-called resistance groups, like Indivisible, that have sprung up all over the U.S. These organizations, in turn, have been relentless in staging protests and fundraisers and canvassing for local causes and candidates. "Indivisible and the resistance and the #MeToo movements," Mills says, "have brought these issues to the fore."

Democratic strategists hope this crop of fresh-faced women will give the party an advantage in November, primarily by providing a contrast to President Trump. Female candidates, they say, will appeal to voters looking for change and be natural messengers for issues, such as health care and education, on which polls show female candidates tend to be more trusted. "With so many women running this cycle, especially Democrats, I am confident that any 'blue wave' will wear lipstick and high heels," Democratic strategist and former national party chair Donna Brazile tells TIME.

Eastman won a Nebraska primary over a former Congressman

It's too early to say whether this bet will pay off. But if it does and Democrats rack up big electoral gains, 2018 could be a truly historic year for women in politics. Currently, women account for just 107 of the 535 members of the House and Senate, or 20%. Advocates say an influx would help balance policy debates routinely dominated by white males. As Madeleine Dean, who won a congressional primary in Pennsylvania in May, put it at a forum, "We are in this pickle because we have too many of the same type of person representing a diverse population."

THE NATIONAL NERVE CENTER for this year's groundswell is the downtown-D.C. headquarters of Emily's List, which has raised more than $500 million over three decades to help bridge the gender gap in Democratic politics. "We've been practicing 33 years for this moment," says the group's president, Stephanie Schriock, sitting in her spacious office decorated with campaign memorabilia. This year, the group has "bundled" $6.5 million from individual donors on behalf of candidates, and its independent-expenditure arm has spent $12.2 million.

While the number of women in politics has grown steadily over time, parity remains distant not because voters dislike female candidates—they tend to win elections at the same rates as men, according to political scientists—but because not enough women ran in the first place. That's what the 2016 presidential outcome changed. The floodgates opened after Election Day, and the Women's March accelerated the trend. Since then, Emily's List has heard from more than 36,000 women interested in running for office, compared with less than 1,000 over the previous two years. The number of women from both parties running for the House, Senate and governor this year is a record high, according to the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. "This is all coming out of a moment of realization that elections have consequences and women can't afford to leave politics to someone else," says the center's director, Debbie Walsh. But it's the Democrats who have been the success story: only 20% of nonincumbent Republican women have

won primaries, lower than the rate for GOP men, according to Walsh.

Many of the women who have emerged from contested primaries thus far have, like Porter, run against male candidates supported by local or national power brokers. In Pennsylvania, a state whose 16-person congressional delegation is currently all men, local honchos supported male candidates over Susan Wild and Dean, both of whom won anyway. Amy McGrath, in Kentucky, and Kara Eastman, in Nebraska, beat male congressional candidates supported by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC).

Organizations like the DCCC tend to prefer candidates with political experience—which may incline them against rookies like McGrath—or those who are independently wealthy, a group dominated by businessmen. Schriock argues that first-time female candidates can gain an edge this year by positioning themselves as outsiders with real-world knowledge who can shake up Washington. Some female candidates say it's unfair that the political experience they've worked to build gets called a negative. "Now, men say, 'Well, you have a great résumé, but you're kind of an insider,'" Mills, the Maine gubernatorial candidate, told a campaign rally. "Really? For decades, men were telling women, 'Just a little more experience and you'll be qualified.' Well, goddamn it, I am qualified!" (Her opponent was a businessman billing himself as an outsider.)

For women running against the establishment, which in many places can resemble an old boys' club, Emily's List can serve as a counterweight. The group sent staff and funding to candidates it deemed competitive, helping tip the scales in some races. In New Mexico, for example, the group funded advertisements on behalf of two female congressional candidates in order to counteract other national groups, With Honor and No Labels, which were supporting a male candidate. It was an unusual move not to pick one candidate and back only her, but it helped boost Deb Haaland, a community activist who would be the first Native American woman in Congress, to a primary win in the state's First District. "Having a historic number of women run in primaries was not the endgame," Schriock says. "They've got to get on the general election ballot to make a difference. That's where we come in."

OVER THE FIRST HURDLE

Seventy-three Democratic women have been nominated for House seats so far in 2018, including these eight

Abby Finkenauer
IOWA
At 29, the state rep wants to become the youngest woman ever elected to Congress.

Mikie Sherrill
NEW JERSEY
The former Navy helicopter pilot is gunning for a seat being vacated by a retiring Republican.

Gina Ortiz Jones
TEXAS
The former Air Force officer would be the first lesbian, Iraq War vet and Filipina to represent Texas in Congress.

Kara Eastman
NEBRASKA
A nonprofit exec running on single-payer health care, she topped the party's preferred candidate in the primary.

Amy McGrath
KENTUCKY
A viral campaign video helped launch the former fighter pilot and mother of three to a primary victory.

Madeleine Dean
PENNSYLVANIA
The state rep beat a former Congressman in the primary for a Democratic-leaning seat.

Susan Wild
PENNSYLVANIA
The city solicitor beat five other Democrats in a primary for the newly drawn Seventh district.

Deb Haaland
NEW MEXICO
A primary winner in a blue district, the community activist will likely become the first Native American woman in Congress.

PART OF THIS SUCCESS, of course, is driven by the President. Backlash against Trump is the defining dynamic in the Democratic Party, and a Democratic woman qualifies as the anti-Trump. In an NBC News and *Wall Street Journal* poll released in early June, 48% of voters nationally said they're inclined to vote for a candidate who promises to be a check on the President, vs. 23% who said they'd be less likely to. The feeling is especially intense among college-educated women: 72% disapprove of Trump, according to NBC and the *Wall Street Journal,* while just 27% support him.

There's no guarantee that these women will be the face of a Democratic wave. Halfway through the 2018 primaries, the party's prospects remain somewhat uncertain. The economy is going strong, and the proportion of voters who say they want Democrats to control Congress has narrowed in some national polls. Many of the women who've gotten through primaries still face uphill battles in November in Republican-leaning states and districts, where the qualities that endeared them to a Democratic primary electorate might not translate.

Hillary Clinton and many of her allies called persistent sexism part of the explanation for her 2016 defeat. Some Democratic strategists wondered if it wasn't too risky to run women at the top of the ticket, but Schriock insists Democratic voters haven't been blindly picking the woman's name on the ballot. "These women candidates are putting together a case that voters are hearing and supporting," she says. There are plenty of states yet to hold primaries, which continue into September. But so far, the clear-cut trend is not for Bernie Sanders–style liberals or safe centrists. It's been women.

Just don't call it their year. "Year of the Woman" was the celebratory label coined to describe 1992, when the number of women in Congress doubled—and then inched upward for the next quarter-century. Schriock insists that dispiriting history will not be repeated in 2018. "I don't think this is a moment," she says. "It's a sea change." ◻

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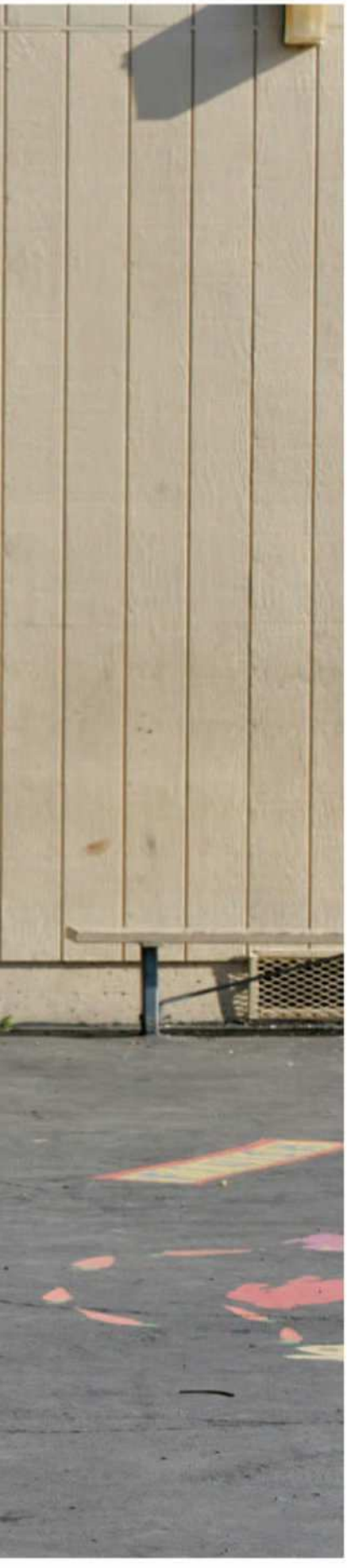
Keeping it's
Dream



Words to Live By

Across the U.S., black fathers talk with their sons about the normal things: being kind, getting an education, finding a job. But they also must confront how they and their sons are seen as they go about their lives. To capture the wide range of experiences of black men and their sons, photographer **RUDDY ROYE,** a father of two boys, traveled the country to learn what these dads are teaching their children about race, success and survival

I know that I have a special boy. But my reality as a father is, one day, this 10-year-old could not come home—at the hands of foolishness or hatred or misunderstanding. And if I can give him anything, I would say, "Take your life one day at a time. Don't let this world suck you into it with the illusions of happiness and the illusions of self-worth. Be your own man. Make your own mind. Have your own decisions. And above all, don't be afraid of anything."

Dame Drummer, 40
Damon, 10
Oakland, Calif.

Interviews have been edited and condensed

ESSAY

BY EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.

My son Langston came into the house visibly angry. His jaw was clenched, and his eyes were red and narrowed. "What's wrong?" I quickly asked. "I was just trying to park and get to work," he said.

Last summer, Langston was an intern for a progressive organization in New Jersey. They had been lobbying at the capitol in Trenton that day. He left home hoping they could make a difference. But as he attempted to park at the statehouse, a police officer stopped him and roughly told him to park elsewhere. As Langston searched for a different spot, another officer stopped him, drilled him with questions and told him to find somewhere else to park. He stood still in the kitchen, not really looking at me as he spoke. And then, "I got stopped again, Dad. Again! And the cop asked me, 'Who is your P.O.?' And I said, 'What's a P.O.?' and the cop yelled, 'Parole officer!' I was in a suit, Dad! A suit!" A single tear fell down his face.

This was the latest in a string of incidents. As father and son, we'd had "the talk." Not the one about sex that all parents have. The one about being black in America. He had told me of his encounters with the police before. I longed to protect him. But here he was in front of me again, 21 years of age, full of rage. I felt helpless as a father. I shouted, "F-ck!" and poured us a stiff drink. I didn't know what else to do.

I am sure I am not alone. Black fathers throughout this country struggle to raise their sons in a world where they seemingly have bull's-eyes on their backs. We work hard at striking the delicate balance between unconditional love and providing the discipline our sons and daughters will need to survive in America. We watch them as they take their first steps. Teach them how to ride their bicycles without training wheels. We attend their basketball games. Tend to their scratches and bruises. Argue and fight with them when they become teenagers. Worry about their choices and their futures.

We do so while much of the country—well, much of white America—believes we are absent from our children's lives. The stereotype of the absent black father has masqueraded as common sense, even if the data suggest otherwise. Josh Levs' 2015 book, *All In,* showed that the majority of black men do live with their children. A 2013 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report found that black fathers are more likely than their white and Hispanic counterparts to bathe, read to, talk with and review homework with their children on a daily basis. Of course, there are black men who have turned their backs on their children. But they are no different than other men who have done the same.

Even in the most intimate moments, black fathers have to remind their children that this world is not organized in their favor

For more photos and stories, visit **time.com/black-fathers**

THE PERSISTENCE of the stereotype, however, sheds light on the context within which we must raise our children—especially our sons. They will grow up, and we must raise them in a world that has a host of assumptions about who they are and what they are capable of. I remember my own father, a hard man who weathered brutal Mississippi summers to deliver mail, telling me, "I am not here to be your friend. I have to prepare you for the world out there, and it ain't a friendly place." As if raising children isn't hard enough, we have to do so with the added burden of preparing them for a racist world. That fact alone often interrupts intimacies. It can make private, black spaces hard and sometimes appear unloving.

We comfort our sons when their hearts are broken. Encourage them after a crushing defeat. Criticize their lack of effort. Prod them to do better in school. We urge them to dream big—but with the refrain that, if they are going to achieve their dreams, they will have to be twice as good and work twice as hard as everyone else. And there it is: even in the most intimate moments, black fathers have to remind their children that this world is not organized in their favor.

Ruddy Roye's photographs offer a glimpse into those interrupted intimacies. With these images, "we see the disparate range of the relationships between fathers and sons," Roye told me. Throughout, we see fathers pulling their sons close: their arms draped around them, the boys snuggled tight, trying to approximate a space of safety.

But these images are haunted by the reality of what lies beyond the reach of our arms. My son came home angry and in tears. Thank God he came home. Think about the blank stare of Trayvon Martin's dad or the rage in the eyes of Michael Brown Sr., or listen to the unimaginable grief of Alton Sterling's son as he wept for his late father. Black fathers are here. Roye's photographs bear witness to that fact. We are trying desperately to raise our children, to shower them with love, to allow them to dream big—and to keep them alive.

Glaude, a TIME columnist, is the chair of the department of African-American studies at Princeton University and author of Democracy in Black

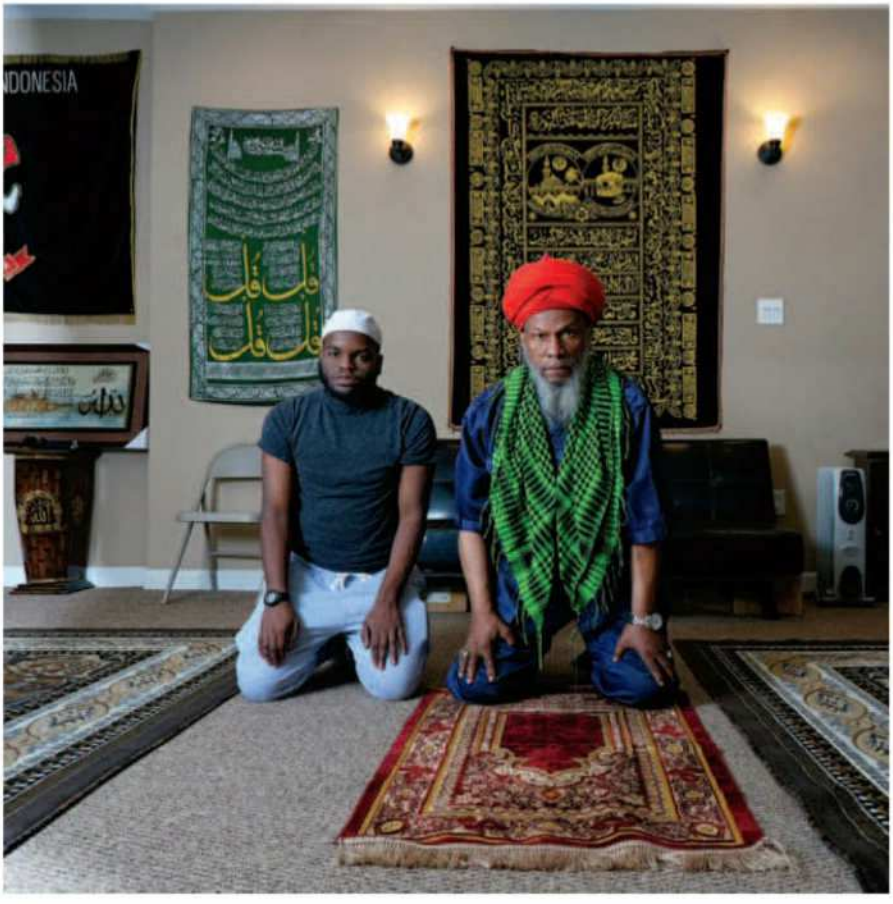
I teach my sons that when life gets hard, never give up. There was a time when I was going to lose it all. It was on Father's Day. I work as an engineer, in my father's footsteps. I got a call from my job: to come in, stabilize the boiler room. Before I could leave, one of the stabilizer tanks exploded. I got cracked across the head. I was out for 2½ years. I sold everything I had just to keep a roof over our heads. To keep things afloat, I started my own business. It's always good to show a physical example of strength, determination.

Fredrico Don Broom, 41; Vincent, 7, in lap; Diego, 12

Catonsville, Md.

I realized at an early age that he was a very spiritual guy. But he had his own mind. He would have to learn from observing me. We used to bowl, and people said, "I didn't know Muslims had fun?" He was taking all this in—how people responded to us, respected us. Also, my wife was a [gang] violence interrupter, so he and his siblings knew what was happening in the community and were aware of certain things not to be involved in. He saw the distinction between right and wrong.

Shaykh Abdur Rashied, 70
Malcolm Matthews, 20
Chicago



I'm sheriff of Hinds County. When I became an officer in law enforcement in the early '80s, I knew how the environment was here, *so I didn't want my son to be a victim. I wanted him to be a vessel. I was very protective of my sons, but I let them get their knees skinned. I would take him to the funeral home. I would let him see bodies in the back that were shot up because guys were trying to commit crimes, and let him know this was just one-way; there are consequences.*

Victor P. Mason, 62
Christopher Mason, 35
Jackson, Miss.

I cannot protect my son. I cannot protect my daughter. When a black teen does something, it's like, "We're gonna teach him a lesson." When a white teen does something, it's like, "Oh, he's a kid. It's a phase." The first time I spoke to him about this, he was about 10. And his response to me was, "Dad, I'm half-white." And I was like, "I get that. But in everybody else's world, you're not. They think you're black." He's having a hard time having to compute that.

Kamau Preston, 39
Dayne, 12

New York City

Every day, we talk about how our day was and about being a leader, a good listener and a good helper. His school is African-centered and teaches the greatness of precolonial kings and kingdoms, rather than him learning about slavery as if that were our first entry point into history. My father is Nigerian, so we make sure that's a part of his understanding of who he is—that when he enters in the room, he has that greatness that he carries within him.

Remi Bereola, 38
Kaden, 4

Oakland, Calif.

I was fortunate enough to be able to be raised around a father that was in the workforce, and he was a teacher. So I saw a work ethic early. And then I have a bloodline of just hustlers and entrepreneurs, so I've always been fortunate enough to understand that you'd make two dollars, you turn it into four. When I saw that, it gave me the work ethic to know that you've got to have your own business—all black men in America and beyond need to have their own business. My son picked that up.

Jesse Starr III, 50
Jesse Starr IV, 28
Jackson, Miss.

He's very observant about things. He will see something and say, "Hey Daddy, can I do that?" I explained to him, "Just because you see an adult do it, doesn't make it right." I just hope that I can prepare him, because it's a mean world. He wants to know my phone number, so we go over my phone number every day, just in case he might need to call me. That's something that we're working on. And his name. We gotta get his name right, and his letters. We really haven't had a rough talk about his identity. We haven't got on that yet.

Anthony Hamblin, 48
Amear, 5
Louisville, Ky.

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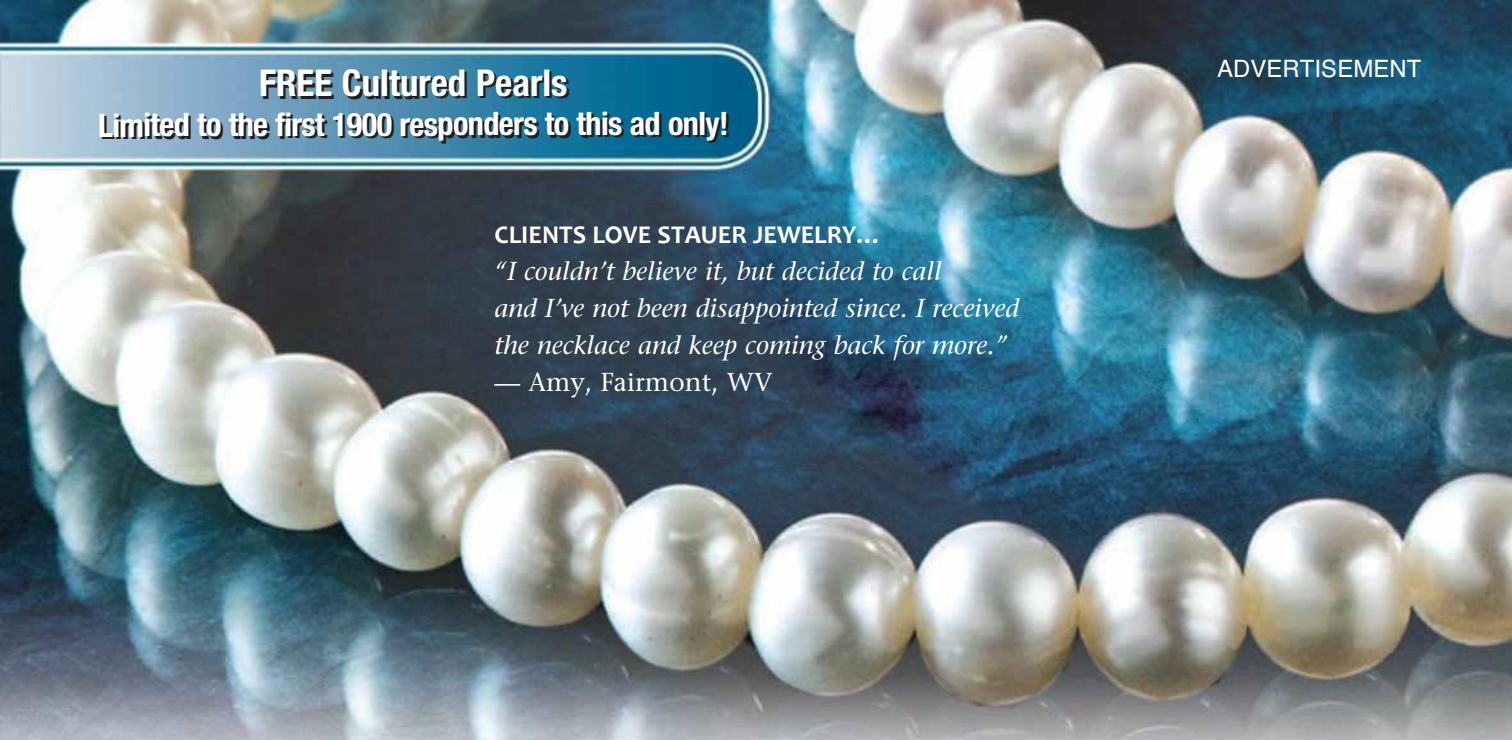

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Time Off

STAR PUBLISHERS Sarah Jessica Parker helps set another trend

INSIDE

QUEER EYE *IS BACK: WHY THE SHOW MATTERS NOW MORE THAN EVER*

A NEW DOCUMENTARY GOES INSIDE THE LIFE OF KIDS'-TV ICON MISTER ROGERS

BIG-VOICED CHRISTINA AGUILERA GETS LIBERATED ON HER LATEST ALBUM

PHOTOGRAPH BY RYAN PFLUGER

BOOKS

Publishing gets a boost from celebrity editors

By Lauren Mechling

IN THE 14 YEARS SINCE THE FINAL EPISODE OF *SEX AND the City* aired, Sarah Jessica Parker has become a real-life fashion mogul with her own shoe line, portrayed a suburban corporate recruiter in the HBO series *Divorce* and played an actor in an off-Broadway production. But her latest undertaking goes in another direction: literary lion.

Parker's new publishing imprint, SJP for Hogarth, released its first novel on June 12—within a week of when another celebrity-run book imprint, Lena Dunham's Lenny, published a new novel of its own. The worlds of fashion and music have long understood the power of celebrity collaborations, which count on high-profile partners to combine expertise and star power. Now book publishers are breaking out of their bubble and looking to outsiders—people with name-brand cachet and stratospheric social-media followings, and who presumably also love books—to curate and helm boutique lists. "Publishers want celebrity stardust, and, let's face it, most writers don't have that," says Claiborne Smith, editor in chief of *Kirkus Reviews*.

For Parker, it's the realization of a longtime fantasy. "I never imagined at this point in my life I'd have the opportunity to turn my lifelong hobby of reading into my work," she says.

Nearly every major publisher is now in the celebrity business. Simon & Schuster has Jeter Publishing, a partnership with baseball legend Derek Jeter that launched in 2013. Random House offered Dunham and her producing partner Jenni Konner their own imprint in '16, following on the success of Dunham's best-selling '14 memoir, *Not That Kind of Girl*. Henry Holt and Co., known for elevated fiction and news-breaking political titles such as Michael Wolff's *Fire and Fury,* announced in 2016 that it had bestowed Bravo TV personality Andy Cohen with his own imprint.

One of the trailblazers in this space was Anthony Bourdain, who died June 8 at age 61. Daniel Halpern, president and publisher of Ecco Books, gave his star author Bourdain his own imprint in 2011. "It was his love of literature that got him doing this," Halpern says. Anthony Bourdain Books has published 13 works since its founding—thanks in large part to Bourdain's ability to identify talent. Even before he had his own imprint, Bourdain was bringing in new voices and insisting Halpern publish them. Ecco will publish the few remaining under contract before closing in the wake of Bourdain's death. "It's devastating," Halpern says. "Nobody was so curious and committed, not even close."

Derek Jeter, Lena Dunham and Andy Cohen are among the big names who have turned their attentions to book publishing

THE PROTO–CELEBRITY EDITOR might be Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, who took on a consulting editorship at Viking Press in 1975. (In '77, a Viking spokesperson told the Washington *Post* that Onassis worked a two- or three-day week "except when she's out of the country.") The former First Lady oversaw titles on Russian costumes and fairy tales.

"Jackie Kennedy is one of the models Sarah Jessica and I discussed when we started talking about the partnership," says Molly Stern, senior vice president and publisher of Crown, Hogarth and Archetype books, who first approached Parker about taking a shot at publishing. "Jackie was a journalist before she was married to the President, and Sarah Jessica was a lifelong reader before she became an actress."

SJP for Hogarth will publish literary fiction—Parker's favorite genre—with an emphasis on multicultural voices. "I'm focused on stories that cultivate empathy and expose us to people whose homes I'm not likely to be invited into," the newly minted editorial director says of her mission.

Fatima Farheen Mirza's *A Place for Us,* the imprint's debut novel, concerns the dynamics of an Indian-American Muslim family in California. While Layla and Rafiq try to uphold their customs, their children Huda, Hadia and Amar struggle to please their parents while also fitting in with their new schoolmates.

In polished prose that zeroes in on domestic detail and, at its loveliest, recalls Jhumpa Lahiri, Mirza delivers a portrait of a family straining to hold its center amid rebellions both quiet and explosive.

"I didn't even know what an imprint was when Sarah Jessica called me to discuss my novel," says Mirza, a 27-year-old graduate of the Iowa Writers Workshop. "She was so thoughtful, and the parts of the book she brought up were the ones most precious to me. It was uncanny."

PREVIOUS PAGE: AUGUST; JETER; DUNHAM; COHEN: GETTY IMAGES

Parker says she gets nervous in her new role. Taking an approach that's part book nerd and part method actor, she travels to bookseller conventions, doodles book-cover ideas and attends Penguin Random House's launch and marketing meetings—where she presents her selections in hopes of winning over the internal support necessary to any book's success.

"I don't want to look like a lightweight," Parker says. "I don't want people to think I'm dabbling. I want them to know I take their work seriously, and I try to learn about the trade—I've spent a lot of time learning about the importance of bookshelf placement." (If it isn't visible, she notes, it's not going to be purchased.)

Kirby Kim, a literary agent with Janklow & Nesbit Associates, has firsthand experience with the soup-to-nuts nature of Parker's involvement. In March, when he submitted a novel to multiple houses ahead of the London Book Fair, Parker took a break from fair events to read the manuscript, and her imprint wasted no time coming in with an offer. "Instead of just networking and schmoozing, she actually zoomed through the submission," Kim says. Ultimately another publisher won the title. "You lose books—that has been gutting," Parker says. "It's tough, but it's been good for me. I don't have a limitless budget. I have to be thoughtful about how we're spending our dollars."

For their part, Dunham and Konner have also remained active in the editorial process by keeping the Lenny list small, with a manageable load of only a few books a year. "They're reading right along with us and offering ideas," says Random House editor in chief Andy Ward, who is also Dunham's editor. "They're incredibly good with the cover stuff too, with type and illustration and, in general, coming up with ideas to give these books a look that feels a little different from what we might normally do."

THE LITERARY WORLD seems largely ready to embrace books from celebrity imprints on their merits. Lenny's 2017 debut, *Sour Heart* by Jenny Zhang, a collection of short stories about Chinese-American girls growing up in New York City, was a critical hit and landed on multiple best-of-the-year lists. The imprint's next offering is *Providence* by Caroline Kepnes, a modern-day retelling of H.P. Lovecraft's horror tale "The Dunwich Horror," about a man who becomes a monster with destructive powers.

With its campy feel, *Providence* might not seem an obvious sibling for the literary *Sour Heart*—even more so because it's a co-product of the author and the book packager Alloy Entertainment, which created the *Gossip Girl* series. But the works have in common a pair of uniquely powerful champions in Dunham and Konner, who promote their books in their online magazine *Lenny Letter*.

Even so, certain authors might prefer the imprimatur of a literary institution over a celebrity's. "I could see why celebrity imprints would be ripe for derision—critics might say celebrities are trying to look smart," says Katherine Fausset, a literary agent with Curtis Brown Ltd. But, she adds, "maybe Sarah Jessica Parker has a greater chance of sitting next to Meryl Streep at a dinner party than some other editor." And nearly every writer wants to see their book turned into a movie.

As stars including Reese Witherspoon and Emma Roberts have helped buoy writers to greater visibility with their popular book clubs, the walls between publishing and film have only eroded further. "If you're being positive about what's happening now, *exciting* is the right word," says Smith. "If you're being negative, the word is *parasitic*."

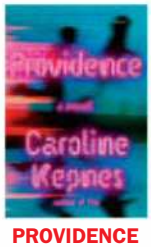
It's also a new take on an old tradition. Not long ago, the effort was to spin book editors into celebrities. Within the last decade or so, industry dynamos such as Lee Boudreaux, Sarah Crichton and Reagan Arthur were all given their own imprints that featured their names on the spines. But those experiments were short-lived. The only remaining of the three, FSG's Sarah Crichton Books, is set to shutter next year.

Parker, meanwhile, is off to the races promoting her first novel. Two weeks before its release, she posted a picture of herself hailing a cab with SJP for Hogarth's debut book in her hand. It got nearly 167,000 likes. ☐

Star-studded shelves

Celebrity-run imprints offer everything from literary fiction to memoir.

THE GIFT OF ANGER
Jeter Publishing
The baseball star's imprint offers books for all ages, including an inspirational tome by Mahatma Gandhi's grandson Arun Gandhi.



PROVIDENCE
Lenny
Dunham and Konner's imprint aims to give voice to the female experience. Its latest offering, *Providence,* is an emo-monster story.

A PLACE FOR US
SJP for Hogarth
Parker's imprint debuts with Fatima Farheen Mirza's literary novel about a fracturing Indian-American Muslim family.

STREAMING

Queer Eye returns more vital than ever

By Ira Madison III

Moving moments: the Fab Five work their magic on Queer Eye

IN A SEA OF MOSTLY UNNECESSARY television reboots, it's almost surprising to find one as politically au courant as Netflix's *Queer Eye*. The show aired its first iteration on Bravo in 2003, and it was very much an artifact of that time, playing into broad caricatures of gay men to hook a straight audience. But 15 years later, a new version of the show, which debuted its first block of episodes in February, proved *Queer Eye* could work in 2018—and be done with a lot of heart and charm, no less. In this version, a new "Fab Five"—experts in the fields of grooming, food and wine, fashion, design and culture—travel to Georgia, where they encounter not just straight men in need of a place to shop beyond Eddie Bauer, but also women, gay men and, in Season 2, the show's first transgender man, all of whom need a dose of life coaching alongside their makeovers. As fashion expert Tan France puts it: "The original show was fighting for tolerance. Our fight is for acceptance."

The way *Queer Eye* does this is quietly clever and revolutionary: it's a show about friendship among gay men dressed up as a makeover show. The warm banter and intimacy between the show's hosts present a side of queer culture that most straight viewers would never get to see; it's so rare to see a mainstream television series with more than one gay man on it, and rarer still to see those men embrace one another onscreen. And it's not just the Fab Five: toxic masculinity tells us that men showing affection for other men is inherently gay, but *Queer Eye* shows how men, both gay and straight, can be kind and open with one another. It's a worthwhile message, and a rare one.

Happily, Season 2 exemplifies this quality in the series, and offers a stronger batch of episodes than its first season, which featured a few low points—an unfortunate episode made light of police brutality by having a cop "jokingly" pull over the men as Karamo Brown, the series' sole black star, was driving. (Later, during his makeover, the men rummaged through another cop's belongings and found a MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN hat.) *Queer Eye* is at its least effective when it pretends that it can combat complex issues like racism and religious intolerance with its plucky, heart-on-its-sleeve approach to crossing the aisle. As encouraging as it might be to watch the Fab Five work warmly with conservative folks, the show's bigheartedness can also make it feel anodyne.

Yet that isn't necessarily a bad thing. Queer culture is enjoying a rich media renaissance right now, with series like *Pose* and *RuPaul's Drag Race* earning critical acclaim and seminal plays including *The Boys in the Band* and *Angels in America* returning to Broadway. But for audiences that just want to tune into something light and let out a good cry on their sofas, *Queer Eye* has the power to show them a side of gay culture that previously might never have existed to them. That makes the series more than just entertaining—it's vital. ◻

QUEER EYE, VAN NESS. THE STAIRCASE: NETFLIX; JAMES: GETTY IMAGES

What to stream now

By Mahita Gajanan

The Staircase

True-crime fans will get their fill for the summer when *The Staircase* comes to Netflix. A documentary series that initially aired in 2004, *The Staircase* is back with three new episodes—in addition to the 10 from the show's original run—that offer an authoritative look at a murder case for a death that occurred

QUICK TALK

Jonathan Van Ness

Van Ness, 31, is the effervescent grooming expert of Queer Eye. *He returns to Netflix for the show's second season on June 15.*

Did growing up in a small town help prepare you for shooting in rural locations? Shooting in rural towns didn't feel new or scary. I was able to go into those situations without toning myself down. Growing up in Illinois and being a male cheerleader also prepared me. I've worn a 100% polyester cheerleading outfit in stadiums full of people—it is pretty hard to embarrass me.

Have there been any unexpected outcomes from being on the show? I am shocked almost on a daily basis that my being me everywhere I go affects people so deeply. There are so many repressed feelings in men and women about being themselves and loving themselves. Whether you are straight or gay, we are all in this boat of not being quite sure if we are lovable, and I didn't realize how much people were struggling.

June is Pride month. What does Pride mean to you? I think it is really a celebration of all those who have come before us and made it possible to celebrate our brothers and sisters who lost their lives to HIV/AIDS and fought so hard for us to be visible. It's a time for us to celebrate the people who literally laid down their lives for us to be safe. Do we get to make out topless and go on parades? Yes, but Pride is so much more than that.

—WILDER DAVIES

"PRIDE IS A TIME FOR US TO CELEBRATE THE PEOPLE WHO LITERALLY LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES FOR US TO BE SAFE"

POP CHART

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Harry Potter and the Cursed Child, the staged sequel to J.K. Rowling's seven-book series, **took home the Tony Award for Best Play** in addition to five other awards.

LOVE IT

LEAVE IT

After the Cleveland Cavaliers lost to the Golden State Warriors in the NBA Finals, Cavs star LeBron James said he "pretty much played the last three games with a broken hand" because **he had reportedly punched a locker-room whiteboard.**

nearly two decades ago.

In 2001, Kathleen Peterson was found dead in a pool of blood at the bottom of a staircase in the North Carolina home she shared with her husband, the writer Michael Peterson, who was charged with her murder. While the case at first appears to exonerate Peterson, sordid details from his life soon start to spill out. Twists and turns happen in real time, under the documentary's close watch: Peterson's bisexuality and relationships with other men come under scrutiny, and it later emerges that Kathleen was not the first woman in his life to have died in a staircase-related incident.

The Staircase arguably kicked off the recent wave of true-crime shows and podcasts, from *Serial* to *Making a Murderer,* and at Netflix whodunit fare has become a staple. But this particular series is worth taking the time to watch, especially to see how no one can truly escape the workings of the justice system.

A NEW TAKE

The first cut of the miniseries won a Peabody Award in 2005; the Netflix version includes three new hours

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The family that fights evil together stays together—baby included

MOVIES

Incredible, but still human

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE KEY TO THE WONDERS OF BRAD BIRD'S INDISPUTABLY wonderful Pixar features—first *The Incredibles*, then *Ratatouille* and now the bold, rapturously entertaining *Incredibles 2*—is that he writes for cartoon characters as if they were human actors. Everything those characters do, every split-second decision they make—even a misguided one—feels lived in, not drawn in. In *Incredibles 2*, when superhero dad Bob Parr, a.k.a. Mr. Incredible (voiced by Craig T. Nelson), is forced to stay home with the kids while his wife Helen, a.k.a. Elastigirl (Holly Hunter), enters the workforce to bring home the much-needed bacon, the five-o'clock shadow gracing his he-man lantern jaw is a kind of cartoon shorthand for exhaustion. But the weariness in his carriage—the way his big-'n'-tall physique seems deflated from within, imprisoned by plain old dad cotton when it belongs in superhero Spandex—qualifies as Method-style brilliance.

Of course Mr. Incredible is tired: he's been chasing after wild-man baby Jack-Jack (Eli Fucile) all day and night, in addition to keeping the older kids (Sarah Vowell's wildflower-shy and sometimes invisible Violet, and Huck Milner's ball of energy Dash) on track. In the modern world, dads and moms often strive to shoulder parenting burdens equally. Being more powerful than a locomotive is easier than that.

The Incredibles was a great animated film about true democracy, kind of a Howard Hawks–style reverie about what people can achieve when they preserve their individuality *and* work together. *Incredibles 2* goes even deeper, delving into the fragility of the male ego in a world where women are asserting themselves more every day. It's also surprisingly scary in places, riffing on the fear that those we love best could someday become strangers who don't even recognize us. The plot is worked out beautifully: superheroes are still illegal, as they were in the first movie. But they're the world's best hope against a new threat, a faceless villain called the Screenslaver. His plan is to control behavior through the things that already rule our lives.

If *Incredibles 2* harbors a current of seriousness, what really makes it work is that it is so purely delightful. Nearly all the familiar faces have returned, including Lucius Best, a.k.a. Frozone (Samuel L. Jackson), supercool both in and out of his superhero togs, and the imperious Diana Vreeland of the cartoon world Edna Mode (voiced by Bird himself), who proves that great style can also be functional. (It's she who invents the most practical onesie for out-of-control baby Jack-Jack.)

But even in the midst of its many boundless pleasures, *Incredibles 2* charges us with a mission that's not for the faint of heart: to choose to look at one another instead of being fixated on the screens all around us. It's the only way to be alive and awake to every moment. Sometimes it takes a cartoon to show us what it really takes to be human. ◻

Baby Jack-Jack's superhero powers include, but are not limited to, laser eyes, the ability to slip into other dimensions and at-will spontaneous combustion

DISNEY (2)

Offerman and Clemons: letting go is the only way to hold on

MOVIES

Facing the empty nest, with a song

By Stephanie Zacharek

NOT SO LONG AGO, PARENTS OLD enough to send their kids off to college would wind down a hectic day by spinning Frank Sinatra and Doris Day on the hi-fi. Today's version of those parents have Sonic Youth and Sleater-Kinney on their Spotify.

In Brett Haley's *Hearts Beat Loud,* Nick Offerman's Frank Fisher is one of those parents, so much a teenager at heart that you'd think he wouldn't have too much trouble letting go of his bound-for-college daughter. A onetime singer and musician who runs a record store—the vinyl kind—in the hip Brooklyn nabe of Red Hook, he thinks it's time to start his third act, though he has no idea what that should be. Meanwhile, his daughter Sam (Kiersey Clemons), whom he has raised alone in the years since her mother's death, is running toward her future. She wants to be a doctor, and she'll soon be leaving for school on the West Coast. She's also got some singing and songwriting chops, and one night, after Frank persuades her to lay off the books and jam with him—a little routine of theirs that Sam seems to be outgrowing—the two come up with an accidental semi-hit.

Writer-director Haley *(I'll See You in My Dreams, The Hero)* makes modest pictures about segments of life that almost don't seem consequential enough to be movie subjects, like finding love later rather than sooner, and sending a kid off to college when you still feel like a kid yourself. But movies don't have to be bigger and bolder than we ourselves are. Haley's films are things we can reach toward—there's an intimacy and candor about them that feels welcoming.

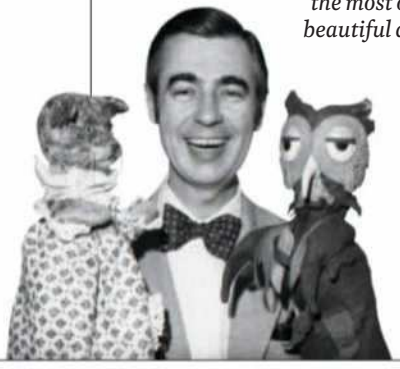
And he always finds the right performers for the job. Offerman, with his rumpled-T-shirt of a scowl, is the quintessential half dad, half boy, though he's more than ready to grow out of the latter role. The always marvelous Toni Collette plays Frank's friend and landlady, Leslie, who gives him sound advice when he needs it and shuts his nonsense down when that's what he deserves. And Clemons—a gifted musician who does her own singing here—is lovely as a young woman who is eager to make her own way, even though she has to tear up some roots to do it. Kids grow up before we know it. Sometimes it's only after they leave the nest that parents can resume growing up themselves. ▯

MOVIES

Mister Rogers shows the way forward

FRED ROGERS, THE ordained minister behind the long-running public television show *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood,* built a career, and a life, out of speaking frankly to young children. In each show he would repeat comforting routines: changing out of loafers and into sneakers; giving a sprinkle of food to his tankful of fish. His gentle manner and willingness to address human fears head-on helped several generations of kids through the bewildering forest of childhood.

Morgan Neville's film about Rogers, *Won't You Be My Neighbor?,* is an act of tenderness in documentary form. It would be enough if Neville did nothing more than tell Rogers' story. But he pulls off something more delicate and complicated, presenting Rogers' way of thinking as a balm for our current climate of intolerance and hatred. "Love is at the root of everything," Rogers once said, "love or the lack of it." He died in 2003, but this radiant documentary ensures that the seedlings of love he planted live on. —S.Z.



Rogers and friends make the most of a beautiful day

MUSIC

One of pop's biggest voices gets a new style

By Jamieson Cox

CHRISTINA AGUILERA HAS ALWAYS BEEN DRIVEN by reinvention. She shakes off a part of herself with each new album cycle, tapping into a character or concept that can house whatever is energizing her creatively. First she left her teen-pop roots behind and demanded respect on 2002's *Stripped,* becoming a defiant adult star; four years later, she shedded that album's raunchy persona and evoked Old Hollywood glamour on the overstuffed *Back to Basics.* She has spent most of the last decade-plus trying to generate and maintain some momentum, but she's struggled to find musical relevance beyond a few booming features on hits including Maroon 5's "Moves Like Jagger" and Pitbull's "Feel This Moment." On *Liberation,* her eighth studio album, she hits the reset button after almost 20 years in the public eye. It's a reintroduction to the Aguilera behind all her personae: a mother of two with a cannon for a voice, unburdened by commercial expectations and half a lifetime away from the talent who broke out with "Genie in a Bottle."

In many respects, *Liberation* feels like Aguilera's attempt to make a version of Rihanna's critically acclaimed *Anti*—an eclectic collection of tracks that come together to reveal something new about a star we've known forever. It's rooted in R&B and hip-hop, but Aguilera doodles through a wide range of genres, including swampy Southern rock, dancehall and dewy ballads. While she realizes her vision with help from some fresh songwriters and producers, the tracks that best encapsulate *Liberation*'s frenetic sound were written and produced with Kanye West. "Maria" is a letter from Aguilera to her younger self, one built around a chirpy sample of a young Michael Jackson that's swaddled in trap drums and stirring strings, while on lead single "Accelerate," she indulges in come-ons and boasts over strobe-lit synths. Neither song offers much in terms of structure, but they're relaxed and dynamic.

NOT ALL OF *Liberation*'s experiments offer the same pleasures. "Sick of Sittin'" begins with a promising growl, but it's formless and muddy, and "Deserve"—Aguilera's collaboration with hit-makers Julia Michaels and MNEK—underwhelms. (Hearing her navigate Michaels' conversational verse is like watching an elephant rumble through an obstacle course.) The album's second half devolves into a collection of bland, midtempo vocal exercises. But there are a few moments in which Aguilera makes the most of her veteran savvy, and she's complemented by arrangements that reward her for doing something other than belting. She's flirty on the glowing "Like I Do," wriggling around a delirious flute loop: "I've been doing this way before you," she winks. Late-album highlight "Pipe" is a featherlight duet, and Aguilera works out the logistics of a hookup with surprising delicacy.

She can still howl, of course, and on the powerful "Fall in Line" she rails against systemic misogyny in a pyrotechnic duet with Demi Lovato. It's a reminder that Aguilera has endured new rounds of body shaming and malicious commentary with each new album cycle, and that she took a stand against this kind of treatment before doing so had permeated the culture, on hits like "Fighter" and "Beautiful," which has made her an inspirational figure for a generation of young singers like Lovato. "Fall in Line" is the kind of song that fully realizes the promise of *Liberation,* as it shows Aguilera free to say what she wants—and share what she's learned—after almost two decades of stardom. ◻

Aguilera's last album was 2012's Lotus, *though she's been a frequent feature on other artists' hits*

NEW FRIENDS On *Liberation,* Aguilera worked with a versatile list of guests, including rappers Anderson Paak, GoldLink, Ty Dolla Sign and 2 Chainz.

HEARTS BEAT LOUD: GUNPOWDER & SKY; ROGERS, AGUILERA: GETTY IMAGES

Mushrooms get their moment

By Micaela Young

MUSHROOMS ARE POPPING UP IN odd places all over the supermarket, from coffee and kombucha to snack bars. That's because the humble fungus is nutritionally impressive: add it to any dish and you'll impart loads of savory, meaty flavor for very few calories. Six white mushrooms clock in at a mere 28 calories. Mushrooms also deliver nutrients that many people lack, like potassium, which keeps blood pressure in check: a cup of white mushrooms has nearly 10% of your daily recommended target (4,700 mg), a goal only 2% of Americans meet.

Mushrooms are brimming with phytochemicals, antioxidants and a fiber called beta-glucan, all of which have anti-inflammatory properties. That means they can protect you from a number of diseases, says Dr. Lawrence Cheskin, director of the Johns Hopkins Weight Management Center. A 2017 study found fungi to be the best source of two disease-fighting antioxidants, ergothioneine and glutathione. Low levels of the latter have been linked with higher risks of heart disease, diabetes and cancer.

THE NUTRITIONAL MERITS of some of the latest mushroom-enhanced products—like a chocolate drink spiked with mushroom extract—are less clear. But mushrooms are increasingly being used to replace red meat. This spring, the fast-food chain Sonic Drive-In briefly introduced a patty made with 75% beef and 25% cooked mushrooms, resulting in a burger with less saturated fat and calories. Another recent launch: mushroom jerky made with shiitake stems, which has less protein but more fiber than meat versions.

When making your own mushroom creations, shop for dry packages at the supermarket that are free of condensation. Store the mushrooms in a refrigerator in a sealed paper bag, and prep them by wiping them down immediately before cooking.

Mushroom types vary by their antioxidant concentrations. (Meaty porcinis, for example, are one of the most antioxidant-rich fungi.) But you can enhance the nutritional prowess of nearly any variety just by putting a pack of mushrooms in the sun. Mushrooms use sunlight to make vitamin D, yet most are grown in the dark. A cup of white mushrooms contains little vitamin D, but one study found that putting them in natural sunlight for 30 minutes grew the vitamin D content between 150 IU and 600 IU per cup, or 25% to 100% of your recommended daily dose. If you chop them up first, you'll increase sun contact and maximize vitamin D production. You also can buy vitamin D–enhanced mushrooms at certain grocery stores.

If fungi turn you (or other picky eaters) off, but you still want to pack in extra vitamin D and antioxidants, grind air-dried and sun-bathed mushrooms into a powder. Mushroom nutrients are heat-stable, so they won't degrade when cooked, notes Robert Beelman of the Center for Plant and Mushroom Foods for Health at Pennsylvania State University. Toss the powder into foods such as pasta sauce, casseroles and bread flour for a nutrient boost with a disguised taste. □

WHITE MUSHROOM
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HEN-OF-THE-WOODS
These have an earthy flavor—perfect for a stir-fry—and more **glutathione** than many other mushrooms.

GETTY IMAGES (5)

While many factors affect heart disease, diets low in saturated fat and cholesterol may reduce the risk of heart disease.
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Laurence Tribe The Harvard law professor on his new book *To End a Presidency,* Trump's pardon power and the trouble with impeachment

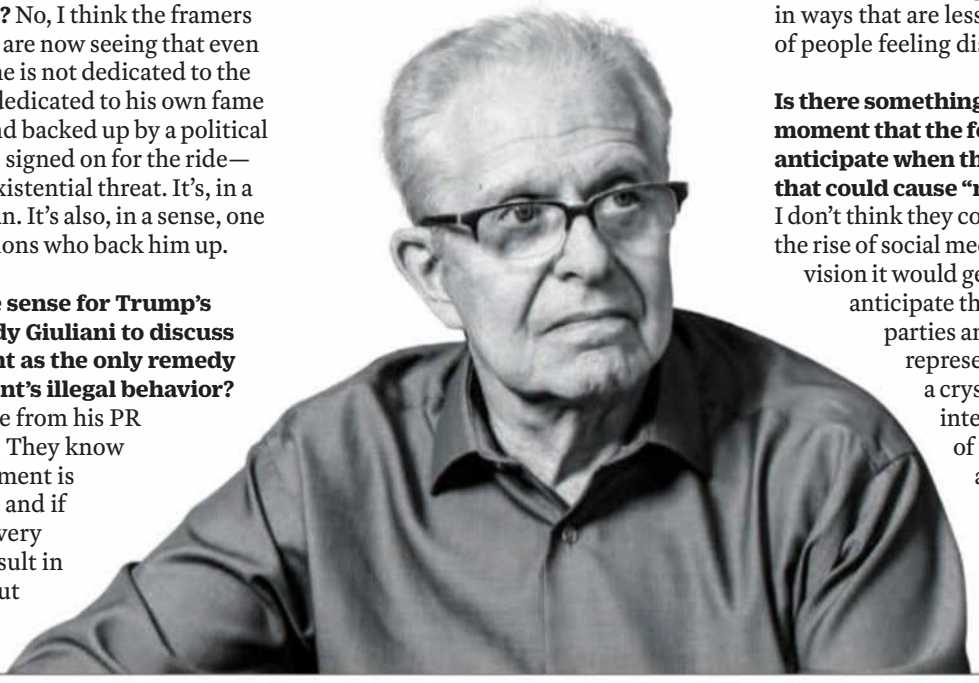
You write that sometimes discussion of impeachment is reasonable, but most of the time it's "needless and harmful." Where does discussion of impeaching President Trump fall in that divide today? I think it's certainly reasonable to be thinking about it. What I think is unreasonable is expecting it to serve the purpose of a magic wand. It is totally predictable that—however justifiable it might be to remove this President—it simply isn't going to happen through the impeachment process, at least not in the very near future. It's premature to call for it because it's going to be like the boy who cried wolf. This is not something that we can take lightly or do more than once to any given President.

You have called for lawmakers to begin impeachment proceedings, though. Ever since [special counsel Robert] Mueller was appointed, I've thought it important to basically chill out and wait until we know more.

Do you think people are overstating the threat that one man can pose to the Republic? No, I think the framers knew, and we are now seeing that even one man—if he is not dedicated to the country, but dedicated to his own fame and wealth and backed up by a political party that has signed on for the ride—can pose an existential threat. It's, in a sense, one man. It's also, in a sense, one man and millions who back him up.

Does it make sense for Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani to discuss impeachment as the only remedy for a President's illegal behavior? It makes sense from his PR point of view. They know that impeachment is very unlikely, and if it occurs, it's very unlikely to result in conviction. But the idea that a President is so much above the law that he cannot be indicted, I think, is false. The notion that you would have to go through an elaborate impeachment process before arresting and indicting a President is a fantasy.

"THIS IS NOT SOMETHING THAT WE CAN TAKE LIGHTLY OR DO MORE THAN ONCE TO ANY GIVEN PRESIDENT"



JARED SOARES—REDUX

Does the President have the power to pardon himself? No. That's so profoundly inconsistent with the premises of the whole American system of government that we should not allow ourselves to be distracted by it.

How do we strike a balance between the harm of potentially living under a tyrant and the chaos that could be caused by the first successful removal of a U.S. President? If I could answer that in just a few lines, there wouldn't have been a need for this book. One of the main factors to take into account is: Would we favor removing the President through impeachment even if it happened to be a President we liked and had voted for? We have to keep in mind that congressional oversight can constrain a President who is otherwise a renegade and can do it in ways that are less likely to leave lots of people feeling disenfranchised.

Is there something about this political moment that the founders failed to anticipate when they created a power that could cause "national trauma"? I don't think they could have anticipated the rise of social media and the tunnel vision it would generate. They didn't anticipate the rise of political parties and the division they represent. They didn't have a crystal ball. But it's interesting that those of us who've looked at what's happened since still can't come up with a better structure for getting rid of a President.

—KATIE REILLY

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